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Space Experiment for Peaceful Purposes Begins

AU1608144288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Aug 88 p 1

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—An international air and space experiment, "Tien Giang [Tienschan] Intercosmos 88," began on test sites in Tadzhikistan and Kirgizia on Thursday. The experiment serves the development and more effective use of space facilities for remote reconnaissance of the earth, as well as of aircraft to study the composition of the earth's crust. Specialists from the USSR and Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, Poland, Romania, Hungary, and Vietnam will take part in it until 1 September. The work is part of the program of international cooperation in the research and utilization of space for peaceful purposes. The specialists see a special task in locating and analyzing seismic zones. In the course of the experiment, various geological objects will be photographed from artificial earth satellites of the Kosmos, Kosmos 1500, and Meteor Priroda types, as well as from the manned Mir system, and from aircraft and ground facilities. At the same time, ground research work will be done, in which apparatus developed in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and the GDR will be utilized. The results of this research work and technical and methodical recommendations will be utilized for further scientific and economic evaluation.

CSSR, Polish, Hungarian Dissidents Cooperate

AU1608143288 Vienna KURIER in German 14 Aug 88 p 3

[Text] An "International Group of Dissidents in the Countries of Real Socialism" has now started a hunger strike action for the liberation of political prisoners in the CSSR and against the Warsaw Pact troops' invasion of the CSSR 20 years ago. It is supported and coordinated by the "International Human Rights Association."

Since approximately 1 August, five Polish citizens have been starving themselves in support of imprisoned Czechoslovak persons of the same convictions.

There is also mutual care of the imprisoned and persecuted civil rights fighters of the two countries. This action has been initiated by Prague Charter 77 signatory Petr Uhl and Catholic activist Petr Pospichal in Brno, and is supported on the Polish side by Piotr Niemczyk in Warsaw and Radoslaw Gavlik in Wroclaw.

In Warsaw an independent agency has been established with the program name "Dementi." In the coming days it will open a large exhibition of photographs which have not been published so far and other original documents on the invasion of the CSSR.

The agency also distributes photographs which were taken in those August days by the known CSSR civil rights fighter Jaroslav Svetka, who later emigrated, and which have not been published so far. But it also offers photographs of the Polish underground, of strikes, illegal printing shops, Polish soldiers burning their military service books, etc.

Apart from the increasingly stronger axis between Polish and Czechoslovak opposition members, the cooperation and solidarity between the Hungarian and Czechoslovak dissident scene has also increased.

On the occasion of the forthcoming 20th anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Prague, 180 Hungarian citizens have addressed a letter of support to the Charter 77 movement in the CSSR.

In October, several known Hungarian dissidents and civil rights fighters will stage an unlimited hunger strike as a protest against the imprisonment of CSSR civil and human rights fighters who were wrongfully convicted.

Jakes Notes Common Reform Aims on USSR Visit
LD1608204088 Prague CTK in English
1800 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 16 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes returned home today from a holiday in the Soviet Union.

While in the Soviet Union, Milos Jakes visited Leningrad and attended a meeting at which Anatoliy Fateyev, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Regional Committee, spoke about the activity of the party organization in Leningrad.

Milos Jakes stressed at the meeting that Czechoslovakia had entered an important period of socialist construction, economic reform and deepening of socialist democracy. Czechoslovkia is thus greatly interested in restructuring in the Soviet Union. The objectives of the reforms in Czechioslovakia and the Soviet Union are identical and this provides good possibilities for the further development of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations.

Milos Jakes and Anatoliy Fateyev discussed possibilities of promoting bilateral relations by using new forms of economic cooperation.

Party Fails To Adequately Implement Restructuring
AU1608185788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
12 Aug 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Lasting Stimuli"]

[Excerpts] The CPCZ's primary organizations have been working with the conclusions of the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session for more than 5 months now. They are carrying out an ever more profound effort to figure out how to implement them within the range of their activity. The conclusions are the lasting source and the instructions for them on how to act under the conditions of restructuring the economic mechanism and deepening socialist democracy.

However, findings reveal that the membership meetings in June, which were devoted to implementing the conclusions in the activity of organizations, did not yield the necessary effect everywhere.

The sincere effort to bring the ninth session into life often remained stopped halfway. In some places the reason for this was the incomprehension of the impact of the changes which we are undergoing and which must, therefore, reflect in the activity of the party organization. In other places the reasons were the inability to break down ideas into concrete measures, into plans for work, and the main thing—beginning to implement them, not waiting for "instructions from above" from the district committee, and not waiting for some guidelines for implementation. Yes, it will probably take some time before a part of organizations will rid themselves of this burden of the past; before they realize that the resolution of the Central Committee applies to all levels of the party structure without exception; before some district committees will stop adopting other documents of their own on this resolution, and will clearly say what they themselves will do to implement it, and how they will help the primary organizations. There also were organizations which merely satisfied themselves with information about the deliberations of the Central Committee, and that was all.

Where the June meetings did not quite fulfill their purpose, for example in the North Moravia and the South Bohemia regions, the organizations will have to go back at separate membership meetings to the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session.

The most important thing now is to change the style and the methods of each party organization's work to correspond to the requirements of the present, to eliminate everything that causes stagnation and passivity, to unite the energy and the talents of the people, and to develop intraparty and socialist democracy. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, some party organizations in the production sector are only slowly succeeding in finding the correct party approach, in seeking political solutions when resolving economic problems, and not supplanting economic management. A part of them still do not assess the people's work, but describe the state of affairs. Even though organizations are gradually exposing the causes of problems and shortcomings, in a number of instances the assessment of the share of actual workers is lacking, a matter which to a certain degree reduces the impact of deliberations and prolongs the time it takes to rectify matters. Implementing the conclusions of the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session means freeing oneself of deliberations and meetings which solve nothing, after which nothing changes concerning the criticized mistakes, and eliminating the adoption of formal resolutions or the wasteful duplication in discussing issues, often in the same manner as in nonparty agencies. [passage omitted]

The party puts considerable demands on its members today. It demands that they be at the forefront of changes, that they personally push restructuring, and that they be a model in conduct and behavior.

After all, they are the core of work collectives, and the attitudes of their fellow workers are shaped according to the members' attitude toward what the party asserts today. From this arises their personal responsibility for the fate of restructuring. The party does not conceal that a part of its members are not fulfilling these demands and are passive. The causes of this state of affairs must be studied, and one has to differentiate between what is in a communist himself and what is in the work of an organization, and what is in the conditions and in the general atmosphere of a place. [sentence as published]

The decisive thing now is to see to it that every communist takes an active part in the work of his organization, and to see to his high ideological and political preparedness and awareness. [passage omitted]

The categorical command for every communist today is to clarify to himself his personal attitude toward restructuring, and to be at its forefront. [passage omitted]

The Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session has a long-term validity for party organizations. We must work with speed to implement its conclusions.

'68 Pro-Soviet Letter Target of Antiparty Forces

LD1608202188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 16 Aug 88

[From the "Press Review"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Vaclav Pergl in RUDE PRAVO recalls the campaign concerning the letter sent by 99 workers of Praga works to the Soviet Union in 1968, in which they expressed concern about the situation prevailing in the country at that time and stressed loyalty and friendship to the Soviet people. The author of the article says that the campaign was a part of a broader design. Its aim was to destroy the party, its leading role and erode our friendship with the Soviet Union. It was to demonstrate tellingly that those who might want to oppose such things would be silenced and hunted down. After the new party leadership headed by Comrade Gustav Husak was installed in power in April 1969, wrongs began gradually to be rectified. Incorrect decisions were abolished, relations between people improved and those who had signed the letter were rehabilitated publicly. The article says in conclusion that those who witnessed these events are diminishing in numbers. For the young generation, this is merely a page from history, a page which, however, we should not forget. [passage omitted]

Bilak Falsified Letter To Discredit Dubcek

AU1608193688 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 15 Aug 88 pp 131-132

[Unattributed interview with former CSSR party leader Alexander Dubcek in Bratislava: "I Never Signed Such a Text"—date not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Alexander Dubcek, when Soviet troops occupied the CSSR 20 years ago, Moscow claimed it had been invited to do so by the comrades from Prague....

Dubcek: And Vasil Bilak, today's Central Committee secretary for international relations, even maintained in DER SPIEGEL that Dubcek, too, had invited them—this is a false statement, and a serious one at that.

SPIEGEL: You and Bilak took part in the last meeting with the fraternal party before the invasion, in Bratislava on 3 August 1968. Bilak claims to have signed a document together with other CSSR delegation members, and also with you, according to which the CSSR was threatened by a counterrevolutionary coup.

Dubcek: This is the vital question. With this claim the CSSR "inviters" and the intervening allied countries justified the military intervention in the internal affairs of our CPCZ. I have Bilak's SPIEGEL interview right here with me. Bilak said:

"Do you also remember the conference of the Warsaw Pact member countries in Bratislava in early August 1968? I am going to tell you something now I have not told anyone else before. Unlike normal practice, this document was not drawn up by the official experts. The party and government chiefs themselves came together and formulated one sentence after the other: that the CSSR is threatened by a counterrevolutionary coup, and that it is our common duty to defend the achievements of socialism. Later, all delegations signed this paper, also all CSSR delegates such as Dubcek, Smrkovsky, and Cernik, including myself."

SPIEGEL: But you did not really sign it?

Dubcek: Of course not. For Bilak to claim this is a breach of faith, an impertinence. I have never signed such a text.

SPIEGEL: And what about the other reformers—Smrkovsky, Czernik?

Dubcek: They did not sign either.

SPIEGEL: They cannot defend themselves...

Dubcek: Parliamentary President Smrkovsky is dead and so is State President Svoboda. I am alive. And this is why I would like to provide true evidence in your magazine—which published Bilak's statement—based on the authenticity of the signed document. The readers also have to get to know my point of view.

SPIEGEL: Certainly. What was it then that the Bratislava declaration said about the alleged counterrevolution?

Dubcek: Nothing. The passage Bilak "disclosed" to DER SPIEGEL reads as follows: "To support, protect, and strengthen the achievements which the nation has made thanks to the heroic efforts and the sacrificing work of the people in every country is a joint, international duty of all socialist countries." And further on: "This is the unanimous opinion of all those who participated in the discussion, who have expressed their unyielding determination to further develop and protect socialism in their countries and to make new achievements in further developing socialism."

SPIEGEL: Common duty—does this not sound like the Brezhnev Doctrine of precedence of the socialist states' common interests?

Dubcek: Now this statement can by no means be interpreted in such a way that one can intervene militarily in a country without the country's knowledge and participation. The document excludes such action.

SPIEGEL: And what else does it say?

Dubcek: The text of the document was published in its entirety, it does not contain a secret clause. If you care to read the explanation, you will find that Bilak simply ignores the following statement:

"The participants in the discussion have stated that it is their clear ambition to do all they can in order to strengthen overall cooperation between their countries on the basis of the principles of equal rights, respect for sovereignty and national independence, territorial integrity, fraternal and mutual assistance and solidarity."

SPIEGEL: And you were able to sign that?

Dubcek: Yes, I was, but Bilak's claim that a document existed, which he and I signed and according to which "the CSSR is threatened by a counterrevolutionary coup" is a falsification of the document and a lie. Such a document does not exist. Therefore, Bilak could "disclose" nothing to your magazine. If, nevertheless, he did so, he deliberately fabricated a falsification for this purpose.

SPIEGEL: But for what purpose—so many years after the intervention?

Dubcek: In order to justify the tragic consequences of the illegal act of 21 August 1968 to other nations, an act which so heavily affected the entire CSSR society. Bilak—and not only he—has acted out of personal interest and in compiete contradiction to the interests of our people and the socialist state, and continues to do so.

SPIEGEL: What Vasil Bilak told us is also directed against you personally.

Dubcek: He—and not only he—wanted to humiliate me morally vis a vis the people of our country. He tried to portray me as a man with two faces, and this is also why he called me a horse dealer.

SPIEGEL: Why did he do that?

Dubcek: Life, practice, and time have revealed my face, and also Bilak's real face. He is trying to discredit me vis a vis our people and vis a vis the world public, because people recall me as a man who has remained faithful to himself and to his cause.

I did not sell myself for the price of changing the political program. I risked being expelled from the party rather than revoke the party Presidium's decision of 21 August 1968.

SPIEGEL: The party Presidium, that is to say the Prague Politburo, condemned the intervention....

Dubcek: ...the military intervention into the domestic affairs of the CSSR. This intervention was groundless and unlawful. Now the readers of DER SPIEGEL can form opinions of their own about the complexity of my task, namely, to defend the renaissance of socialism.

Hajek Doubts Leaders' Commitment to Restructuring

AU1608153888 Vienna PROFIL in German No 33 16 Aug 88 pp 40-41

[Interview with Jiri Hajek, CSSR foreign minister in 1968 and former Charter 77 spokesman, by Otmar Lahodynsky, in Prague: "The People Have Gained Courage"—date not given]

[Text] Lahodynsky: In an interview with the Austrian Radio and Television Service, ORF, Alexander Dubcek said that Gorbachev's reforms "are very useful for the conditions in the CSSR." The Prague regime should—as it has in the past—adjust to the Soviet policy and carry out reforms. Do you think that Milos Jakes, the new CPCZ general secretary, is capable of doing this?

Hajek: This leadership is in a terrible dilemma as no other has been before. It was appointed to eradicate the reforms of the "Prague Spring," which was similar to Gorbachev's perestroyka in many aspects. These people did that out of loyalty toward the Soviet Union, but today a new breeze is blowing over there.

Lahodynsky: Thus, the current Prague leadership is suddenly disloyal to the Kremlin?

Hajek: Some of these gentlemen are facing a conflict: On the one hand, they want to continue being loyal to the Soviet Union, on the other, they have to overcome their antireformist dogmatism for this purpose. Gorbachev's perestroyka, too, was started only by replacing the old leaders in the Kremlin.

Lahodynsky: There are still politicians in the Soviet Politburo who were appointed by Brezhnev.

Hajek: One passage of one of Gorbachev's latest speeches particularly reminded me of the situation of the current CSSR leadership. He spoke about people who would like to limit perestroyka to the restructuring of the economic mechanisms, that is, some sort of pocket-size democracy. This opinion is also prevalent among a large part of the current CSSR leadership.

Lahodynsky: Some politicians here seem to wait for Gorbachev's failure and seem to count on the dogmatist Ligachev.

Hajek: Such speculations are certainly entertained by some of our politicians. Here, too, much more emphasis is being put on restructuring in the economy than in politics. Very much caution is certainly exercised in carrying out democratization. Just take the media as an example: Glasnost in the Soviet press is much greater than glasnost in the CSSR.

Lahodynsky: The leaders of the "Prague Spring" are now hoping for rehabilitation. Do you think the Kremlin can admit that the invasion of the CSSR in 1968 was a mistake?

Hajek: This would only be logical and would fit Gorbachev's criticism of the Brezhnev era and Shevardnadze's foreign policy. This would also correspond to the current revision of Soviet history and the related rehabilitation of truth. I can imagine very well that this is very difficult for Gorbachev. All the old structures that Gorbachev is struggling against today were reestablished in our countries with the help of tanks 20 years ago. In the Soviet Union the reforms have become possible only because the Brezhnev team left, but here the team that was appointed by Brezhnev is still in power.

Lahodynsky: On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the invasion, the opposition will again demand the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the CSSR. Do you see any realistic chances of this?

Hajek: I think that such a withdrawal is possible only within the framework of an all-European disarmament agreement. Before 1968 there were no Soviet troops in our country, their stay in the CSSR was officially justified by referring to the "danger of German revanchism." Today this reason for the deployment is no longer mentioned because since 1972 the relations between the CSSR and the FRG have been normalized. The majority of the Czechoslovaks consider the presence of the Soviet troops in their homeland useless and superfluous.

Lahodynsky: Why did Milos Jakes become the new CPCZ general secretary? He was not considered particularly an advocate of reform.

Hajek: Mr Jakes was very active in the normalizing after 1968 and in suppressing the reforms of the "Prague Spring." He purged politics and the economy of many highly qualified people and replaced them by obedient apparatchiks. When this leadership now starts reforms it risks weakening its position with the people. A majority of the population experienced the enthusiasm of the "Prague Spring" and afterwards the disappointment caused by its sudden end. They were thrown into a situation of helplessness, despair, or consumerism. Therefore, the people have their doubts why this leadership, which put them into this situation, now suddenly wants to rouse them again. The people already paid a high price for their activities once. They wonder whether new personal commitment is useful, in particular because today's reforms are less credible than those 20 years ago.

Lahodynsky: Where do you see the main differences between the "Prague Spring" and Soviet perestroyka?

Hajek: The Prague Spring was killed by foreign intervention. At present, I do not see any power that would be able to similarly stop perestroyka in the Soviet Union.

Lahodynsky: Could it perhaps be stopped by means of an intervention of the Soviet Army in its own country?

Hajek: Possibly yes, but perestroyka is, anyway, not threatened from abroad, as we were in 1968. Of course, there is a difference between whether a reform takes place in a small, homogeneous country or in such a heterogeneous and enormous country as the Soviet Union. We did not have the worries of a superpower, either. Today the dangers to the development of a Soviet-type socialism have increased. Today the problems of socialism are closely linked with the problems of all of mankind. Gorbachev confirmed this by putting mankind's problems above the class interests. We would never have dared to say this aloud 20 years ago. In many areas the "Prague Spring" could not go as far as Gorbachev's new way of thinking.

Lahodynsky: In 1968 in the CSSR there was also democratic pressure from below in addition to the reforms from above.

Hajek: Yes, at that time there was also spontaneous activity by the citizens. Gorbachev, too, wants to rouse the people in the Soviet Union to be more active, but I think that he is still very far from this. In 1968 there was some sort of explosion of democracy in our country, which took place without violence. The Soviet leadership at that time considered this a threat to socialism. In the "Prague Spring" there were, however, also various heterogeneous elements, including those that were against socialism, but we did not have any nationality problems and demonstrations, such as those in Armenia. We did not have to dissolve nonconformist protests by force, either.

Lahodynsky: Has Soviet perestroyka any influence at all on life in the CSSR?

Hajek: The people have gained courage, the Catholics have signed an appeal for freedom of religion. In last December, when Charter 77 called for a demonstration on Human Rights Day, about 2,000 people came to a peaceful rally at the inner city ring. Of course, the crowd was dissolved by police. This year there was a rally at the grave of Tomas G. Masaryk, in which several hundred people participated. Police acted with restraint. There

are a number of new civil activities—such as the "Democratic Initiative" group, an independent peace group—and a number of cultural activities. Much of this is due to the indirect influence of perestroyka. The regime has permitted a bit more room for independent initiatives.

Lahodynsky: The Central Committee plenum is expected to deal with ideological problems in Prague before the end of this year. Do you also expect a new assessment of the "Prague Spring" within the party?

Hajek: Recently Jan Fojtik, the new chief ideologist and Vasil Bilak's successor, has often talked about the "idea of continuity." Gorbachev, on the other hand, speaks about the idea of change. The Prague leadership wants to integrate its past into certain progressive tendencies, but this does not necessarily increase its credibility.

Gulf Cease-Fire Praised, Navy Exit Called For

AU1608172088 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Aug 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Czechoslovak Stance on the Cease-Fire Proclamation"]

[Text] Prague—The following is the statement by the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman on the proclamation of a cease-fire in the war between Iraq and Iran:

The CSSR has received with great satisfaction the report of the cease-fire agreement on the Iraq-Iran front, and on the agreement of the two belligerent parties to begin mutual, direct talks on establishing peace. Thanks to the prudent course taken by and the close cooperation among the majority of the members of the UN Security Council, as well as of its secretary general, Javier Perez de Cuellar, it is possible today to speak more easily about real prospects for a final and just solution to one of the longest military conflicts of the 20th century. In the past, the CSSR always supported the endeavor for a political solution to that conflict. It welcomed the Security Council's Resolution 598 of July last year, because it saw in it from the very beginning the most suitable vehicle for reaching a bilaterally acceptable settlement of the conflict by peaceful means, making use of the UN's potential. Czechoslovakia regards the achieved agreement as the first step in a lasting and just peace between Iraq and Iran, and will continue to support all measures aimed at guaranteeing security for and peaceful development of the countries in the Persian Gulf region, including the elimination of the other persisting dangerous factor of tension—the concentration of the naval fleets of the United States of America and its allies in the region.

Restrictions in CSSR-Polish Tourism Discussed

AU1608183688 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 and 21 July and on 11 August publishes items dealing with restrictions in Czechoslovak-Polish cross-border traffic and CSSR-Polish disagreements over the issue.

On 15 July, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 600-word "PM"-signed Warsaw dispatch entitled "Sejm on Tourism Between Czechoslovakia and Poland." The dispatch reports on interpellations by Sejm deputies S. Habczyk and B. Doktor at the 13 July session of the Sejm, concerning "difficulties at the Silesian section of the Czechoslovak-Polish border in applying the 1959 convention on the so-called small cross-border traffic between the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic." Boleslaw Kulski, Polish deputy minister of foreign affairs, is cited as having replied that the relevant agreements were in force until December 1981 "when the Czechoslovak authorities, by a unilateral decision, suspended their implementation." Since then, according to Kulski, the Czechoslovak authorities require Polish citizens to produce an invitation from a close relative when they want to visit the CSSR.

Kulski is quoted as having continued: "Throughout this time, Poland has been implementing the original provisions without any restrictions. We have consistently espoused the view that there is an urgent need to return to the full implementation of the original agreements. We have been presenting this standpoint to the Czechoslovak side during all contacts at party or government levels.

"This June, the third session of the joint Polish-Czechoslovak commission that deals with tourism issues was held in Warsaw. We stressed that, in view of the expectations of the public and traditional family ties between people living in the border areas, we ascribe a fundamental, priority importance to the full implementation of the convention on cross-border traffic.

"The Czechoslovak side continues to hold the view that the former state of affairs can be restored only after eliminating the great differences in prices and markets, rendering the noncommercial exchange rate between the zloty and the koruna more realistic, and creating provisions that would prevent cross-border contacts from being used for the purpose of trade.

"The Czechoslovak side understands the restoration of full-scale exchanges as a process requiring more time. It is now prepared to develop, first and foremost, organized tourism. However, it has promised changes enabling the expansion of personal contacts. These include, for example, the extension, in justified cases, of the validity of invitations to also cover other relatives, and the possibility to visit the graves of loved ones between 1 and 3 November every year and the last Sunday of every quarter of the year. The Czechoslovak side will also no longer determine the minimal number of participants in group excursions, and so forth."

On 21 July, on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 600-word interview with Miroslav Matousek, secretary of the Czechoslovak part of the Joint Czechoslovak-Polish Commission for the Solution of Tourism-Related Issues.

by Vitezslav Havlicek. The date and place of the interview, which is entitled "On Tourism Between the CSSR and Poland," are not given. Matousek first admits that in late 1981, "in connection with the developments in Poland, which were accompanied by the closure of borders," the Czechoslovak side suspended earlier Czechoslovak-Polish agreements on tourism. In 1983, he continues, a joint Czechoslovak-Polish commission was set up with the aim of "creating conditions for restoring mutual tourism on the scale of the original agreement, in accordance with the progress of political and economic normalization in Poland." According to the rules set by this commission, Matousek continues, "the minimal number of participants in tours organized by travel agencies is 15 and they must spend at least 2 nights in the country. Individual tourism is possible if paid for in advance through travel agencies; it is limited to 6,000 persons a year. Private travel to visit relatives is conditional on a certified invitation." In addition, in urgent cases, the two sides reportedly also permit participation in funerals, weddings, and the like. Matousek asserts that, "naturally, the rules are equally valid for citizens of both countries."

Asked whether any "further changes" are planned, Matousek replies that, as of 1 August, the minimum duration of individual trips paid for in advance through travel agencies will be cut to 2 days, with only one overnight stay, or even to 1 day, if it is a Sunday or a holiday. Visits on the basis of certified invitations will henceforth apply not only to relatives, but "once a year citizens will also be able to invite friends." In addition, provisions have reportedly been made for one-day visits to graves between 1 and 3 November every year and on the last Sunday of every quarter of the year, and for facilitating visits between twinned organizations.

"The further easing [of restrictions] in mutual tourism," Matousek says in conclusion, "is conditional on balanced domestic markets and retail prices of goods and tourist services and on an objectification of the exchange rate."

On 11 August, on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 250-word "TS"-signed report entitled "How To Travel to Poland." The report reveals that the planned changes in rules governing Czechoslovak-Polish tourism that should have been in force since 1 August have had to be postponed because "some issues remain to be clarified, among them the certification of invitations by national committees." According to the report, representatives of national committees want the invitations to be authenticated by public notaries instead. RUDE PRAVO notes that, as soon as the issue is resolved, it will notify its readers about when the new regulation becomes effective.

FRG Prosecution of Nazi War Criminal Asked

AU1608145288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Aug 88 p 1

[CTK article: "We Expect the FRG To Put Malloth on Trial"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] Bonn—**Dusan Spacil, CSSR ambassador to the FRG, paid a visit to the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Thursday [11 August] and drew attention to the fact that war criminal Anton Malloth, who was active in Terezin during World War II, arrived in Munich from Italy on Wednesday [10 August].**

The ambassador stressed that the CSSR recognizes international principles pertaining to the punishment of war criminals, one of which stipulates that a war criminal is to be punished by a state on whose territory he committed his crimes.

Owing to the fact that the **FRG organs do not recognize this principle**, since 1965 the CSSR—in order to ensure that crimes are punished—has been passing on to the FRG judiciary the results of investigations compiled by Czechoslovak investigating bodies, with the request to pursue a prosecution. At the same time, the CSSR always requests that it be informed about further steps, expressing its willingness to provide legal assistance to make it possible to punish war criminals.

Regarding Malloth, the results of investigations in the CSSR were sent to the FRG judiciary center in Ludwigsburg in 1971, which handed them over to the state prosecutor's office in Dortmund in June 1971.

The Czechoslovak ambassador expressed **the Czechoslovak side's expectation that, in view of Malloth's current stay in the FRG, the FRG judiciary will take the necessary steps to put Malloth on trial.**

FRG Citizen Arrested on Espionage Suspicion
LD1608152788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1514 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 16 Aug (ADN)—The GDR security organs have caught redhanded and arrested an FRG citizen, Adolf W. He is under strong suspicion of carrying out military espionage against the GDR for an imperialist secret service. Investigatory proceedings have been instituted and an arrest warrant has been issued.

Bundestag Group Visits to Discuss Culture
LD1608100288 Hamburg DPA in German 0914 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—A delegation of the SPD Lower House group's "Art and Culture" working group traveled on Tuesday to the GDR for a 3-day visit. It is the first GDR trip by Bonn deputies and is devoted exclusively to cultural policy. The delegation, headed by deputy Freimut Duve, intends to have meetings in East Berlin with representatives of the GDR Ministry of Culture and the Academy of Arts, as well as with Hermann Kant, president of the writers' union. Talks in Dresden Leipzig, and Altenburg are also planned.

The trip, originally planned for this spring, was cancelled at the time on short notice. The GDR had sought to dictate that the parliamentarians have talks only with official representatives. The SPD found this unacceptable. However, these conditions appear now to have been lifted, Duve said before the departure.

Honecker Greets Congo on Revolution Anniversary
AU1608172288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Aug 88 p 2

[ND report: "GDR Congratulates Friendly Congolese People"]

[Text] East Berlin—On the 25th anniversary of the Congolese revolution, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following congratulatory message to Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party [PTC] and president and head of government of the People's Republic of the Congo [RPC]:

Esteemed Comrade and friend Denis Sassou-Nguesso:

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Congolese revolution, I convey to you, the PTC Central Committee, and the friendly Congolese people my cordial congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR.

The GDR working people are following with great attention and sympathetic understanding the struggle of the friendly Congolese people to strengthen their national independence and establish a progressive social system. The founding of the PTC and the RPC were important steps on this road.

With its work in the Nonaligned Movement and in the OAU for peace, for disarmament, and to guarantee the economic security of the African states, and in the struggle against apartheid, the RPC is assuming a respected place in international life.

Esteemed Comrade Denis Sassou-Nguesso, your visit at the head of the RPC party and state delegation in May 1985 has left fond memories for me and the GDR people. I am certain that the longstanding, trusting relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties and states will continue to develop successfully in the interest of world peace and for the benefit of our peoples.

Please accept my sincere wishes for good health and well-being and for further success in your responsible work for the welfare of the Congolese people.

Erich Honecker,

general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

On the same occasion, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, sent a congratulatory telegram to RPC Prime Minister Ange Edouard Poungui.

PRC Leaders Thank Honecker for Sympathy Note
AU1608154788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Zhao Ziyang, CCP Central Committee general secretary, and Yang Shangkun, PRC president, sent a letter to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, thanking him for the sympathy he expressed for the flood disaster in Zhejiang Province.

Manfred Gerlach Meets Peru's Garcia in Lima
LD1608105288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2348 GMT 15 Aug 88

[Text] Lima, 15 Aug (ADN)—Dr Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, and Peruvian State President Dr Alan Garcia Perez met yesterday [15 August] in Lima for an exchange of views on the international situation and relations between Peru and the GDR. Manfred Gerlach, heading a state delegation

currently in Peru, conveyed to Alan Garcia cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman, which were reciprocated.

During their talk, both politicians stressed the necessity of further disarmament steps, particularly regarding nuclear arms. In an exchange of views on the situation in Central America, Manfred Gerlach paid tribute to the activities of the Contadora and Lima groups as a significant contribution to the peaceful settlement of the regional conflicts affecting world peace.

Manfred Gerlach and Alan Garcia expressed their satisfaction at the high level of relations between the GDR and Peru and called for further deepening bilateral cooperation.

Further on UN Forces' Departure for Baghdad

LD1608113688 Budapest MTI in English 1101 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 16 (MTI)—Tuesday morning the 15 Hungarian officers left Budapest to join the Iran-Iraq Military Observers' Group on the request of the United Nations organization.

The officers were seen off at Ferihegy Airport by relations and Defence Ministry officials. After arriving in Baghdad aboard a special Malev plane, they will start the service by attending a brief preparatory course jointly with the U.N. officers of the other nations. On August 20, the first day of the ceasefire, they will go on duty on the Iraqi side of the Iraqi-Iranian border.

Grosz, Straub Meet New Envoy to Mongolia

LD1708082088 Budapest MTI in English 0600 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 17 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and Istvan Stadinger, president of the National Assembly, met Sandor Szapora, Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Mongolian People's Republic, who left for his post.

Environmental Protection Importance Stressed

AU1708081788 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Aug 88 p 1

[Article by Kalman Abraham, state secretary for environmental protection and water management: "Our Environmental Protection Management"]

[Text] The economy and environmental protection have become related concepts. An increasing number of people recognize that there is a close interdependence between general economic development and the use of natural resources, and the changes that are taking place in our environment. It is possible to achieve a harmonious development only by coordinating these factors, and only in this way can a process of qualitative changes emerge in which the use of resources, distribution of investments, the direction of technological development, and the organizational methods fulfill both present and future requirements. Therefore, we need a radical reorganization primarily in our energy management, in industry, and in foreign trade.

It has become obvious to everyone that new technology is the driving force behind economic development. It is also understandable that great dangers are inherent in this new technology. Many new types of pollution have emerged and they are damaging our natural and our constructed environment. People's health is in danger, and there are no state borders in this respect. Our responsibility toward other nations and toward the whole of mankind has increased, too.

Therefore, it is our obligation to apply solutions in our daily production activity which take into consideration the effects on people, resources, the environment, and generally on economic development. Therefore, it is not correct to limit our activity to separate environmental protection, because there is no such thing as environmental protection independent of human activity, endeavor, and needs.

Many people often ask whether we can spend money on environmental protection under our current limited financial resources. The question is wrong because, in spite of the difficulties, it is our obligation to increase such expenditures, because it is in our fundamental interest to prevent damage and to protect the environment. People who do not recognize this hinder the implementation of our tasks. It is beyond argument that, in the long run, intellectual and financial investments in environmental protection will benefit social and economic progress. However, polluted nature and a damaged environment would only impair the people's living conditions and mood, and limit economic growth.

The concept that expenditure on environmental protection is nonproductive is antiquated and untenable. A series of examples of developed industrial countries show the positive effects an ecological approach has on technological development, technological reorganization, and on international competitiveness. Every rationally-minded society practically enforces prevention, and the subsequent environmental protection creates new industrial branches that become closely integrated in the sphere of economic competition. Hungary should also advance in this direction.

In recent decades the interaction between economic activity and the environment has taken new forms in Hungary, too. Exploitation of natural resources has increased to such an extent that there is now a real danger that certain energy resources might become exhausted. Technological procedures used in industry, agriculture, and transportation have a deteriorating effect on the quality of water, air, and soil, that is, on the quality of the entire ecological system. There has been an unfortunate increase in the amount and type of waste materials.

Production and transportation of predominantly toxic materials involve further risks. The number of accidents has increased, and consumption of some materials directly threaten man's health.

As I have already mentioned, we would like to make environmental protection an organic part of our economic activity. We must avoid a situation in which the deterioration of our environment would hinder our economic development and, subsequently, would have a

negative effect on our standard of living. The practical activity with which we can currently fulfill this task is insufficient. We can encourage the implementation of environmental protection measures only by means of a thorough reorganization of the entire system of regulations. In manufacturing our products, we must strive to strictly observe the environmental protection requirements. This is not only an environmental protection factor, but also a condition for the further development of our exports and for maintaining our foreign market positions. We should also mention here the rational reduction of our material and energy needs, and the recycling of waste and various by-products. For the latter, it is expedient to work out an adequate network for collecting such waste materials. Parallel with this, we should immediately start to introduce the latest processing technologies. These procedures take into consideration the need to protect air, water, and soil purity. We must stop the decrease in soil fertility, the destruction of forests, and the spread of corrosion, because all these would have a detrimental effect on our long-term economic development.

The fact that we not only waste our resources but also pollute them is also a problem of the harmony between environment and the economy. One of the main reasons for this is that our economic calculations do not exactly reflect the value of these resources. Since environmental assets have no market of their own, one can only estimate their price. This situation has to be changed by means of fees payable for the use of environmental assets. This is also related to the fact that the units that cause damage cannot always be forced to bear the full economic responsibility. However, we cannot disregard their responsibility in restoring the purity of a polluted environment.

From now on, expenditures on environmental protection will become part of the people's economic plans. This is an important change because, at present, the total amount of the environmental protection investment represents only 1 percent of the annual gross national product. However, environmental damage is equivalent to 4 to 5 percent of the annual gross national product.

Of course, much more important than punishment is to make it understood that environmental management is the main goal today, and it is not only a separate sector of the economy. Environmental management is an interdisciplinary concept and requires state guidance and the broad participation of society. Particularly today, when environmental resources are becoming increasingly valuable production factors, it is inevitable to work out a system of fees for the use of such resources. In other words, environmental management should be made into something that operates on the overall level of the society, rather than environmental protection being forced on economic activity from the outside. For this, environmental expenditures should be reflected in investments and marketing prices. It is inadmissible that, due to their content and size, these dangers that have been perceived by society should be excluded from the tasks facing the economic planning and the economy as a whole.

In the final analysis, environmental management cannot be separated from life. Environmental management creates the conditions for better work carried out in a better mood and in a more relaxed atmosphere, and therefore more valuable work; it contributes to a more favorable supply of food, energy, and water, and enables a higher level of health care.

Taking all these into consideration, we can say that both environmental and economic factors should be considered equally in government decisionmaking and in calculating the enterprises' production expenses. It is also important to note that environmental management—as a new concept—cannot be dealt with in a separate way. It is not only the task of relevant bodies and experts to implement these goals. These goals are part of the healthy development of the entire society and economy. It is in the personal interest of every citizen to protect nature and the environment. Many positive changes have been made in recent months. It is the responsible obligation of all of us to further promote this common task, to implement the rules, introduce new methods, and to make broad use of environmental protection solutions.

Anti-Nagymaros Activist Interviewed

AU1608135888 Vienna PROFIL in German No 33/16 Aug 88 p 30

[Interview with Hungarian area planner Karoly Perczel by Walter Oswalt: "A Stalinist Project"; date and place not given]

[Text] Karoly Perczel, 75, was imprisoned in 1932-33 as a communist student, fought in the French resistance, was appointed department head in the Construction Ministry in 1947, was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of "espionage" in 1949, was rehabilitated in 1954, became department head again, and then area planner for the northern Danube area.

Oswalt: What is the reason for the fact that now, suddenly, it is possible to speak openly in Hungary about the fact that 200 km of Danube riverbank woodland is being destroyed?

Perczel: The politicians who concluded the contracts with Austria and the CSSR are no longer here: former Premier Gyorgy Lazar and former Party Chief Janos Kadar. For them, the implementation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project was a matter of prestige.

Oswalt: What is your advice, in particular in view of the Hungarian economic crisis?

Perczel: Stop the construction of Nagymaros. This is exactly the proposal which I already made 3 years ago to the Academy of Sciences and the parliamentary Environmental Protection Committee. By 1992 (the year in which it is planned to put the power plant into service) up to 40 billion forints can be saved by renouncing Nagymaros, that is more than the 30 billion of the annual budget deficit.

Oswalt: Does the project now have opponents among the leadership?

Perczel: Yes, three of the new people in particular are against the project for economic reasons: Deputy Premier Peter Medgessy, who was already against it during his term as finance minister; economic reformer Reszo Nyers, who was ousted from the Politburo in 1972 because he advocated true reforms; and the new Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, the former head of the PPF.

Oswalt: You already proposed to stop the construction in 1986, when you were still area planner for the northern Danube area.

Perczel: That is why I lost my job. My proposal to the Environmental Protection Committee of the Hungarian parliament did, however, impress many deputies. The current president, Bruno Straub, chaired the meeting at that time. He said that, if he were faced with the same decision again today, he would vote against a project that involves barrage weirs with locks.

Oswalt: What is the foreign policy obstacle?

Perczel: We have very bad relations with Romania. Additionally, bad relations with the CSSR because of the power plant could make both countries unite against us.

Oswalt: Who insists on the project?

Perczel: After 30 years of planning it would be a loss of prestige that would be very hard to bear by the bureaucracy. And there are also many people who are making a profit through that. And some want to create a monument to the subjugation of nature, as Stalin called this. It is a Stalinist project.

Tatai on Enterprises, International Finance

LD1608213288 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] There is a huge gap between Hungarian economic reality and international finance. The gap is not the only thing that is huge—so is uncertainty. And these are often caused by the lack of information or its slow flow. Julia Tardos has talked to Ilona Tatai about this:

[Begin recording] [Tardos] What incentives are enterprises given to make progress in this direction?

[Tatai] It is very important that information on international economic life should reach the enterprises. This is where help can be given. Another sort of help that can be given is to help in the preparation of the enterprises' experts, so that they are able to take on the loans which the World Bank, for instance, is offering for the restructuring.

[Tardos] Do I understand you correctly that money is not requested?

[Tatai] Precisely. The value of projects which can be financed by the World Bank is $700 million at the moment, but this is not used by the enterprises. There are systems of conditions for the enterprises obtaining money. The enterprise specialists must be given information on the market, on finance, international finance, and international law. A very good opportunity for this will be the Hungarian-U.S. School of Management which is to be opened in Hungary, some of whose funding capital comes from the Hungarian Economic Chamber. So the chamber can help a great deal to ensure that managers and specialists of enterprises acquire the appropriate international knowledge, partly in the School of Management and partly with the help of the information base which we can obtain, and that they can establish contacts whereby the abilities of enterprises can be demonstrated to the foreign partner, that is, they can make the investment of capital attractive, and it can organize these meetings in a suitable form and at international standards. [end recording]

Miners Strike 'Clearly Political in Nature'

LD1608164188 Warsaw PAP in English 1515 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 16—500 third-shift workers of the Manifest Lipcowy hard-coal mine of Jastrzebie Zdroj, southern Poland, refused to take up work at 0:30 P.M. last night and went on strike.

Strike organizers formulated 21 demands and presented them to the crew. In spite of efforts on the part of the mine's director and trade unions, the group of strikers refused talks.

The strike is clearly political in nature. It concerns, among other issues, foundation of the "Solidarnosc" union at the mine. Economic demands constitute merely a background for political demands.

At 24:00 last night, the so-called inter-shift arrived at the mine, made up of maintenance and traffic control workers. They were not allowed by strikers to commence work.

At 5:30 this morning, August 16, following calls and appeals from strike organizers, the first-shift crew did not start work either.

At 12:40 this afternoon, district public prosecutor arrived at the colliery, but strike organizers refused to talk to him. Facing this, the district prosecutor spoke on the mine's public address system and delivered the following statement:

"The strike proclaimed at the Manifest Lipcowy hard-coal mine is illegal in nature. It was organized in violation of fundamental regulations of the October 8, 1982 law on trade unions.

"And hence, I call on the strikers to disperse and resume their normal professional duties.

"I also appeal to the strikers to enable the mine director to freely control the mine's services as well as to obey his instructions, which is of essential importance considering the methane danger at the mine.

"Persons who fail to comply with this appeal should be aware of the possibility that they may be hold responsible for their illegal actions."

Strikers gathered at the sorting workshop as well as those of the crew who refused to work and stayed in the main yard heard the statement but showed no response.

At 14:00 this afternoon, director of the mine Karol Grzywa publicized among the crew the following decisions:

"Due to the situation that ensued and was developing, owing to lack of response to the warning of the prosecutor's office and, first of all, considering the safety of the colliery, the crew included, I hereby resolve to suspend productive operation until further notice.

"Being in charge of traffic at the mine and being responsible for the crew's safety, I am calling on anyone not directly engaged in works toward securing the mine's property to leave the premises of the mine.

"I am also informing you that I have asked law and order services to provide external protection to the mine's premises."

As of 16:00 this afternoon, some 700 people out of the 9,000-strong crew remained on the premises of the mine.

Miners Modify Position

LD1708085688 Warsaw PAP in English 0816 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 17—The strike at the "Manifest Lipcowy" coal mine in Jastrzebie Zdroj, proclaimed illegal by the local prosecutor, is still under way.

During the night the strikers modified their postulates but the strike is still of a political character, a constant radicalization of the postulates is being noted.

Party's Efforts for Accord, National Consolidation

AU1708083288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Aug 88 p 4

[Miroslaw Karwat article: "On Party Cohesiveness—Dialogue and Alliances"]

[Excerpts] The line of socialist renewal denotes continuous efforts to expand accord and to extend the social base for the policy of reforms and national consolidation. The climate of openness, searches, and the overcoming of those divisions and prejudices that can be overcome through dialogue are the lasting achievement of that policy. Conditions for accord continue to be updated and extended all the time.

These conditions include not only PRON, but also the Consultative Council, and have recently been supplemented by the idea of "proreform coalition" or, as some people say, the "anticrisis pact." The question is to determine the dependence, on the one hand, between the development of accord and dialogue and the growth of the independence of the party's closest and not so close allies who cooperate in a selective and conditional way without any identification with the party's entire policy and, on the other hand, the so-called ideological condition of the party. [passage omitted]

What the party needs is a flexible and open policy, one that rejects ideological dogmas and prejudices and is based on real needs and opportunities of society, that is,

one that does not refuse in advance to accept any offer of participation and support and really examines the value of such offers and the cost of accepting them. However, this policy can be effective only if the party's ideological-theoretical reflections and self-determination outstrip the speed of structural and political changes in the lineup of forces and institutions, as well as changes in the repertoire of slogans. [passage omitted]

To be able to cope with these needs, the party's internal ideological life must change in a qualitative way. I think that under the present conditions there is a contradiction between the model (which has been crucially developed) of the party's "external" activities and the model of the party's internal life, a model that that does not correspond to the requirements of self-determination and consolidation precisely in the conditions of dynamic dialogue and cooperation with the most diverse political forces. This obsolete model of ideological work (dating back to the times of campaigns from above and central interpretations) is one of the factors responsible for the fact that "party grass roots" are unable to keep abreast of the accord at the "summit." Many signs of disorientation and loss of direction can be seen, even among those who do not assume defensive and conservative attitudes.

During many meetings and training sessions, party members and party aktivs continue to ask aggressive questions such as: "There are so many opinions and interpretations, but what is the party's actual position?" [passage omitted]

The party must differentiate between the plane of political alliances and the plane of ideological relations with its allies. Political cooperation and a far-reaching accord of political goals and principles do not mean that ideological differences and even contradictions have disappeared.

The ideological analysis of the premises and conditions under which an individual partner can join the alliance and participate in joint policy demonstrates that the best accord (which is the object of political accord) exists in the sphere of the tasks connected with the present and the most immediate stages of the development of society, but that greater differences exist insofar as the final and far-reaching vision of society is concerned. Not all those who support the PZPR in defense of socialism and in improving socialism as it is now will support a more far-reaching program in the future. [passage omitted]

The party's partnerlike dialogue with all non-Marxist orientations that continue to commit themselves to socialist construction should go hand in hand with the party's efforts to cleanse itself.

I have used a drastic term, but this does not mean that some drastic methods should be employed. The workers movement's experience shows that the Communist Party possess many other methods of revealing and overcoming ideological discussions in its own ranks, mainly the mechanism of programmatic disputes and unequivocal solutions of the entire party, which are binding on everyone. PRON and not party structures is precisely the suitable place for the dialogue between the Marxists and non-Marxists. In the same way as it is necessary to guarantee freedom of speech, partnership, and influence for progressive non-Marxist people, it is necessary to ensure that Marxists enjoy the obvious and necessary right to be masters in their own community, or at least in their own organization. This formulation may seem drastic or too glaring, but the thing is the Marxists' domination in their own party must be always understood as a standing task and not as an obvious fact that has been decreed and guaranteed once and for all.

All this also means that it is the right and duty of the party to clearly define the rules of "ideological coexistence" with its allies. It is not enough to discredit and unmask the programs of domestic antisocialist opposition, the anticommunist doctrine of the West, reactionary ideologies on both sides, and even clear self-determination in friendly ranks. The ideological struggle waged, together with allies, against the extremely anticommunist opposition betrays the elementary trend toward shifting accents to state, legal, and national issues and toward concentrating on "the Polish raison d'etat," on loyalist-patriotic criteria, moralizing factors, and so on. In such a case, the important social substance and class characteristics of the opposition's programs, including the characteristics present in the program of our allies, would be eclipsed. What else do we need? We need sensible and loyal discussions and ideological polemics with our allies on those subjects that divide us. But in no case must these polemics assume the form of sectarianism and must not result in putting a sign of equation between the enemies and the champions of socialism. Nor must it result in some "further cutting off uncertain people." These polemics must be conducted in such a way that the ideological disputes among allies are not interpreted as dissonance in close political cooperation. But such polemics should always be conducted when the allies of the Communists assume the role of the critics of communism. [passage omitted]

I am not commiting heresy in stating that a party member should know how the PZPR position differs from the positions of the ZSL or the SD on key issues—if it does differ. He should know the difference between the PZPR interpretation of social phenomena and history and the interpretation of, say, the press run by progressive Christian associations. Neither PRON nor socialism will collapse on this account. The state of the party will be much worse if it indulges in silence and ambiguities.

I say this with even greater conviction, since at least some of the party's partners do not expect the party to blur everything, "smooth out" all the edges, and be only diplomatically concerned. On the contrary, our allies are much more offensive in ideological discussions. It could be said without malice that ideological statements today

are inversely proportional to the lineup of political forces. Many statements formulated by the allies simply call for answers on our part. This is so in the case of substituting one, one-sided evaluation of Witos [peasant leader before the war] by another—positive—one-sided evaluation; identifying atheism with nihilism; reacting hysterically to reminders about Maksymilian Kolbe's [the priest who starved to death in Auschwitz] prewar political sympathies; efforts to rehabilitate the ideas of national democrats; and so on, and so forth. Such answers do appear, but only occasionally. They defy the tendency not to "aggravate" anything. But it is common knowledge that people show the most respect for partners who respect themselves, and who know what they want. This is because, as partner-allies correctly assume, respect for oneself is the condition for mutual respect.

Need for New Party Model Examined

AU1608120288 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 6 Aug 88 pp 1, 4

[Article by Zbigniew Madej, former vice premier, former chairman of the Planning Commission, former head of the Central Committee Economic department, and present scientific worker of the Economic Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences: "To Govern or To Exert Power?"]

[Excerpts] Socialism has found itself at a turning point which could be compared to the transition from war communism to the New Economic Policy or to the transition from laissez faire to state interventionism in capitalism. That is why small-scale changes in the party and in the style of government will produce precious little. The communist parties in the socialist system distinguish themselves because they are parties that exert power, govern, and even administer, that is, fulfill purely managerial functions, all at the same time. Everything favors their becoming exclusively the parties that exert power. [passage omitted]

We should not identify Marxism and socialism with a one-party system of rule. Marxism left this an open question, and socialism has developed a number of one-party and multiparty models. We all know the nature of the Soviet one-party system and of the Yugoslav one-party system, which is an entirely different proposition. We all know the multiparty systems in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and the GDR, as well as the Polish multiparty system with the strong influence of the Catholic Church and, recently, of the opposition, which is becoming increasingly institutionalized albeit in an informal way. These models also differ by the extent to which the functions of governing and of exerting power are united, but it could not be said that all one-party systems are marked by a close unity of those two spheres and that all multiparty systems are marked by a division of these spheres.

However, there is no doubt that in socialism a more or less obvious shift from the sphere of governing and administering to the sphere of exerting power is already occurring. This process has been most apparent in Yugoslavia and Poland, and we should note that in Poland it has come about not through long-term planning, but through painful experience marked by outbursts of social unrest and crises, which coerced concessions, while undermining the old ways of governing and of exerting power.

Following every such outburst, the party and its authorities were accused of such transgressions as price hikes, low wages, bad working conditions, and so on, which in other models do not directly belong to the sphere of party and even government activities, but are dealt with by managers at the enterprise level. Having burned its fingers, our party continues to withdraw from that sphere, but many party functionaries are sorry to withdraw from it and are doing this as if under temporary compulsion. That is why some of the things we can now see are delays in this process and the lack of benefits that usually accrue if one puts oneself at the head of development trends in good time. A sufficiently timely switch to new positions is the only chance the party has of rebuilding its authority and of being reckoned with as a genuine political force. [passage omitted]

It is necessary to state unequivocally that the party should not deal with anything that involves governing and administering. It must not deal with whatever is usually the business of government agencies, parliaments, and economic managers. [passage omitted] For some time, when new economic principles and logic begin to emerge, it will be necessary for the authorities to intervene on many occasions, but it is a fact that the economic reform continues to move the party toward the sphere of political activity.

Let us try to define what this activity might involve. First of all, the party must influence people's imagination and win adherents through bold programs and realistic ways of implementing these programs. The party must reach the emotional and rational spheres of people's psychology and must not give up its efforts to acquire what is called "the government over souls." That is why it must not completely cede the field to the Catholic Church and must not come to terms with the familiar thesis, which originated during the birth of socialist ideas, that socialism transfers its point of gravity from governing people to governing things. This is no alternative for the party.

Above all, the party must be active in the sphere of the spirit, because it will then stop hindering engineers and economists in their production processes and will become a rival of its political opponents, that is, of other parties, opponents of the system, and followers of other ideologies. This will increase the importance of authorities and personalities, put an end to the era of rank-and-file activists who are invisible in standardized collective

bodies, increase the role of intellectuals and of people who have their own programs, revive various groups in the party, and develop genuine competition and election struggles.

It is possible that workers will also welcome such a party. The massive social outbursts in 1956 and 1970 and the demonstration of the will of millions and millions of people at the beginning of the eighties show that workers are genuinely inclined to engage in social and political activities.

The party program must deal with remote and close questions, but it should stick to suitable conventions. As for the great political issues, the party should answer the following questions:

—Are our present difficulties a result of Polish inability or are they a feature of the crisis of the political system?

—Can an efficient economic model exist under the present political system or (as the author of this article thinks) does it call for new parties' activities, for new principles of exerting power, and for a changed political infrastructure?

— To what extent is it correct to claim that the present principle that Marxism is the ideological foundation of socialism, considering the fact that a majority of Polish people profess other ideologies?

—What activities abroad and at home does the party propose to pursue in order to lift Poland out of its crisis within, say, 5 years and to include in the stream of contemporary civilization? [passage omitted]

The party that switches over from governing and administering to exercising power must not develop its attitude toward other political parties and factions in line with the traditional model of directives coming from a single center, but must search for other solutions. They include various allied and coalition lineups and the not improbable possibility of government conducted in turn by various prosocialist parties in the future.

We should assume that in time the genuine trump cards of every party—numerical strength, social approval at home, and the status abroad—will be of more importance in the Polish allied lineup. This means that the point of gravity in allied competition will involve efforts to acquire those trump cards and that the very logic of development should help to change the configuration in the allied lineup, which would amount to a radical change in the model of power. If, for example, the ZSL could win all those trump cards in our lineup, this would be a greater innovation in the traditional concept of exercizing power under socialism than the innovation of establishing, say, an entirely new Catholic party, which would have quite loose links with the present bloc headed by the PZPR.

Similar lineups existed in many East European countries and in Poland in 1944-48, when the democratic bloc was in coalition with the Polish Peasant Party. However, there was no a coalition accord involving the leading role of a prosocialist but noncommunist party. It is hard to assert whether internal changes in the coalition lineup could be possible and when, but certain premises continue to emerge to this end. The PZPR will be interested in maintaining its role and other parties will be interested in changing their position. This will trigger a movement which may produce harmful friction, but which may bring about the desired competition. Certain harbingers of that have already been in evidence, especially prior to the ZSL's last congress in March 1987. [passage omitted]

As the communist parties continue to switch from an all-embracing model of government and management to the model of power exercise, a new type of opposition will slowly evolve. The entire communist movement has grown up as total opposition against capitalism and preserved this character in line with the principles of the Communist International until after World War II. On the other hand, the social democratic and socialist parties (and some communist parties at present) have modified their positions to the extent that they participate in the parliaments and governments of the capitalist countries. In other words, they are not so much in opposition to the political system as against the action methods or goals of other parties. The communist parties in the socialist countries have no idea how such a role tastes, because they have never operated under competitive conditions. They have ruled in a total way (independently or in alliances) and have produced types of total opposition, which are not so much against the party as against the political system. But these types of opposition have not always assumed institutionalized forms.

We should expect two types of opposition in the future:

— The antisystem opposition which will act against socialism and all prosocialist parties;

— The opposition within the system which will act against a certain party, a certain group, or certain ways of conduct.

We can assume that segments of the present total antisystem opposition will turn into partial opposition within the system itself and will oppose a certain party, a group, and so on, because in fact this opposition already exists, but has not been institutionalized so as to be able to assert itself as such. The forms of such opposition are hardly known in our country, because the competition of prosocialist forces and prosocialist social program has not been resolved.

New forms of social militancy will appear under new conditions, and then many now unknown features of political activities, which blossom under pluralism and free choice, will come to the surface. (This also applies to

economic activities.) That is why we should assume that genuine political activities will exist hand in hand with the genuine enterprising spirit, because both types of activities are invested with a large measure of creativity. On the other hand, administering activities, which have loyally and routinely accompanied the present model of the party, will be shifted to other areas. [passage omitted]

Political parties need intellectual stimulation, and Marxist intellectuals even need an immediate stimulation alert, because the course of events continues to outstrip thinking. It would be desirable that this alert is triggered by the party authorities, but it will also fulfill its role if it comes about spontaneously when thinking about a new concept of the party and about new forms of the existence of socialism spreads throughout the press and the spontaneously organized discussions clubs.

'Stalin Behind 1938 Dissolution of Communist Party

LD1608163688 Warsaw PAP in English 1255 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 16—The PUWP CC organ TRYBUNA LUDU carries an extensive article marking the 50th anniversary of dissolving the Communist Party of Poland (KPP), excerpts:

"On August 16, 1938, the Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted a resolution dissolving the KPP on false and provocative charges.

"In February 1956, the decision dissolving the KPP was cancelled, thus restoring and re-affirming the good name of the KPP and its leaders. The possibility was also opened to say aloud the tragedy that had befallen to Polish communists as a result of the unjust resolution of the then Executive Committee of the Communist International.

"The tragedy that struck the KPP was inseparably linked to the cancer of Stalinism that in a certain period of time started eating through live tissues of the international working class movement and claiming ever more numerous victims from among the most courageous activists of the Bolshevik Party and those internationalists who were within the reach of Stalinism. Polish communists were among these who fell victim to these practices.

"The resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International dissolving the KPP was preceded by the arrests of almost all prominent leaders and activists of this party who were in the USSR," TRYBUNA LUDU said. TRYBUNA LUDU went on to say:

"Today it is already known that Stalin's verdict on dissolving the KPP was passed at the end of 1937. The later resolution by the Executive Committee of the Communist International on this question was only a formality.

"Now, particularly after the 27th CPSU Congress and the 9th and 10th PUWP Congresses, the Polish United Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are linked by relations cleansed from residues and fossils of Stalinism and marked by the sense of sovereign partnership and internationalist friendship originating from the Leninist spirit.

"Thus, we materialize dreams and strivings of Polish and Soviet communists who even in their worst hours did not lose a belief that relations between communists of both our countries and peoples should be such and not others," TRYBUNA LUDU concluded.

The youth daily SZTANDAR MLODYCH carries an extensive interview on the same subject with Assistant Professor Julian Kieszczynski from the Institute of History of the Working Class Movement at the Academy of Social Sciences. He said, among other things:

"Reportedly already earlier than in 1939, that is, in 1935-1936, Stalin wanted to come to terms with Hitler and the KPP was an obstacle. This question has still to be studied but some Soviet historians also formulate such an assertion. Reportedly there are documents on talks held by Stalin's envoys with Germans in 1935 and 1936. Perhaps these talks aimed at a division of Poland. Stalin wanted to thus draw Hitler's attention to the West.

"These were the causes that made Stalin deliver false documents to Chairman of the Communist International Dimitrov. The documents presented the KPP leadership as agents of Pilsudski and the 'SANACJA' political regime in Poland before World War 2," Kieszczynski said.

FRG's Kohl Cites 'Step Forward' in Relations

AU2707105988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jul 88 p 8

[Report by Daniel Lulinski, TRYBUNA LUDU Bonn correspondent: "Kohl: Making Detente Irreversible"]

The political part of Bonn is on vacation, with the exception of the exception of the Foreign Ministry, which is preparing Minister Genscher's visit to Moscow on 1 and 2 August. It is mainly the chancellor's aides that are left. Before leaving for his month-long vacation in Austria, Chancellor Kohl told a press meeting about the FRG's positive stance toward the Warsaw Pact disarmament initiatives and the purpose of his visit to Moscow in October. Kohl stressed that this visit should open a new chapter in relations between the two countries and make East-West detente irreversible.

The FRG chancellor acknowledged the USSR's "policy of openness," which is serving to improve relations between both states and generally improve cooperation in economic, ecological, and other spheres. He defended the FRG and NATO against accusations that the West is deliberately withholding a reply to the Warsaw Pact

initiatives because it has no concept of its own for disarmament talks. He also admitted that it is necessary to wait for the November presidential election and take into account the stance of the new head of the U.S. Administration.

There was an unexpected number of questions from journalists and answers from Kohl on the subject of FRG relations with Poland. The chancellor avoided specifying an exact date for his planned visit to Poland, though he did say he would like to go in the near future. He said that one cannot establish the date because talks are still going on between both countries on the subject of economics, finance, youth exchange and cooperation, and "persons of German descent." Only when these talks have finished will the exact date be set.

Kohl said that the FRG and CDU, of which he is chairman, view an accord with Poland the same way as they view a reconciliation with France and Israel. "I think that in Warsaw and in Bonn, we have decided that the time is ripe. Jaruzelski and I know that we have to move ahead. This is the right time to take a step forward, before the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of war," he said. Kohl added that he tends to think that his visit on the banks of the Vistula will not take place before January 1989.

Some opposition papers and politicians are criticizing the chancellor's general remarks about disarmament, maintaining that they lack any clear FRG Government or NATO concept. Bahr, member of the SPD Presidium, said that Kohl was unable to present any concrete Western plans.

Elena Ceausescu, CSSR's Obzina Meet at Snagov

Discuss Science, Technology Cooperation

AU1608182188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1722 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/8/1988—On August 16, Academician Elena Ceausescu, D.Sc., first deputy prime minister of Romania, chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, received at Snagov Jaromir Obzina, deputy prime minister of the federal government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, chairman of the State Commission for Technical-Scientific Development and Investment, who paid a visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the National Committee for Science and Technology.

During the interview, issues were approached related to the further development of Romanian-Czechoslovak technical and scientific collaboration in important areas of scientific research.

Emphasis was placed on the ascending course of the collaboration between Romanian and Czechoslovak scientists—which falls into the framework of the fine links of friendship and many-sided cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples—and the determination was expressed to work for the development and diversification of bilateral cooperation in the basic sectors of the economy, scientific research and application of technical progress.

The understandings reached during summit meetings and talks were shown to have created favourable prerequisites for the expansion of Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation in scientific and technological research, as well as in other areas of activity, for the benefit of the Romanian and Czechoslovak peoples, of the general cause of peace and understanding among nations.

Higher Level of Ties Desired

LD1608194688 Prague CTK in English 1833 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Bucharest Aug 16 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technological Development and Investments Jaromir Obzina was received today by Elena Ceausescu, first deputy premier and chairwoman of the Romanian National Council for Science and Technology.

They discussed Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation in science and technology on the basis of the April working meeting of Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu in Romania. They stressed the importance of the two countries' Program of the Development of Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation up to the Year 2000 and spoke in favour of seeking higher forms and methods of this cooperation.

Also today, Jaromir Obzina met with Ioan Ursu, first deputy chairman of the Romanian National Council for Science and Technology.

Later, Jaromir Obzina left Bucharest for Prague.

Embassy Meeting Marks CSSR Treaty Anniversary

AU1708094688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0619 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Prague, AGERPRES, 17/08/1988— A friendly meeting was organized at the Romanian Embassy in Prague on the anniversary of 20 years since the signing of the new Romanian-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

Attending were Josef Kempny, member of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, chairman of the Czech National Council, Jindrich Polednik, member of the Secretariat of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Jan Janik, vice-chairman of the Federal Assembly, ministers, other officials.

Press Notes Treaty, Praises Ties

AU1608121888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1058 GMT 16 Aug 88

["Romania-Czechoslovakia—Lasting, Many-Sided Ties" —AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 16/8/1988—The Romanian press marks the anniversary of 20 years since the signing of the new Romanian-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance printing the congratulatory telegrams exchanged on the occasion between the RCP general secretary, President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu and the secretary-general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Milos Jakes, the president of Czechoslovakia, Gustav Husak, and Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal. The press carries extensive articles on Romanian-Czechoslovak relations.

In its article, daily "SCINTEIA" shows inter alia: The new treaty sanctioned the will of the two parties, of the two countries to raise their cooperation onto a higher stage on the basis of the rich experience acquired in developing reciprocal relations by translating into fact the first Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed 40 years ago, in July 1948.

The Romanian-Czechoslovak links are deeply rooted in the two peoples' past, in the fight of the democratic, progressive, revolutionary forces for winning independence, against fascism, for national and social liberation. The Romanian-Czechoslovak friendship and alliance have been cemented by the blood shed by the Romanian Army and the detachments of Czech and Slovak partisans who, alongside with the Soviet Army, fought heroically to chase away the invaders, to defeat fascism, to

liberate Czechoslovakia. A highly significant and decisive role in ensuring a continuously ascending course to the Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation was played by the ties of close friendship between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by the summit meetings and talks in Bucharest and Prague, opportunities to survey the stage of the bonds between the two countries that highlighted new possibilities of developing cooperation, set new targets, and opened ever broader development prospects. Along the years, the provisions of the [word indistinct] expanded and materialized in numerous documents signed at top and other levels, imparting dynamism, an ever greater diversity and profoundness to the Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation.

The fact is significant that Czechoslovakia has always been among Romania's main economic partners the volume of exchanges of material assets increasing more than three times in the period since the provisions of the present treaty have come into force. Deep-going qualitative changes have occurred in the structure of economic relations—an expression of the powerful development of the Romanian industry—machinery and equipment accounting for roughly 60 percent of total exchanges. Efforts are also being made to increase the share of the production achieved through cooperation and specialization in basic industrial branches. The programme of technical and scientific cooperation is being implemented numerous research centres and productive units of the two countries working to carry through 70 joint projects concerning the development of new technologies in electronics and electrical engineering, installations for industrial robots, the settlement of other important problems for the faster progress of the national economies of the two countries. Cultural and artistic cooperation also develops.

An important role in this cooperation is played by meetings at various levels on a party line, between governments and parliaments, by the exchanges of experience among mass and public organizations in various domains of socialist construction.

Adding to the comprehensive image offered by the Romanian-Czechoslovak links is cooperation in the international life Romania and Czechoslovakia contributing alongside the other socialist countries, all the progressive, democratic forces, to the constructive resolution of the problems confronting mankind, working to remove the threat of a nuclear disaster and achieve disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for a climate of peace, security, confidence and broad cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

Hailing with satisfaction the evolution of the Romanian-Czechoslovak bonds of friendship and many-sided cooperation, the Romanian people reiterates on this anniversary too its belief that they will further expand and diversify, for the mutual benefit, for the benefit of the cause of socialism, peace and cooperation in Europe and worldwide.

Economic Planning, Self-Management Compatible

AU1708094488 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Aug 88 pp 1, 5

[Article by university Professor Dr Mihai Paraluta: "Strategy of Planned Development—an Expression of Consciously Building Socialism"]

[Excerpts] In the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society, we have gained wide-ranging experience in the planned organization and management of the national economy. In all the stages of socialist construction, our party and state have based the entire strategy of the country's socioeconomic development on planning as a basic law of building the new system. [passage omitted]

Particularly in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, planning was not considered a static and immobile concept but a process that is continuously improving on the basis of the changes taking place in the structure of the forces of production and on the basis of the objective and subjective factors operating in society. [passage omitted]

Likewise, the fact was taken into consideration that one of the great advantages of the relations of production generated by the socialist ownership of the whole nation is precisely the existence of the objective framework required for a purposefully planned growth of the national economy in keeping with the conditions and peculiarities of each development stage of society. Socialism without planning is nonsense. Capitalist countries themselves have applied some planning methods or have worked out development plans and programs with positive results, thus meeting objective requirements conditioned by the constant increase in the socialization rate of production. That is why the opinions expressed by some foreign authors according to whom self-management and financial self-administration are at variance with the principles of socialist planning are unjustified, both from a scientific and political viewpoint. Other authors are of the opinion that shortfalls, failings, negative phenomena, imbalances, and contradictions that cropped up in various stages of socialist construction in certain countries are due to planning, to the planned management of the economy, and not to the subjective factor which did not take account—to a necessary extent—of the requirements and forms of manifestation of the law of planned development. There are authors who, by simplifying things, equate planning and bureaucracy, planning and excessive centralism. However, the planned management of the economy is a requirement objectively resulting from the essence of the socialist society.

In the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, under the direct leadership of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a process of eliminating shortfalls in the planning system established up to 1965 and of constantly renewing and improving the organizational framework

took place in Romania. As a result, the organizational and planning system was substantially improved. Bureaucratic and administrative elements that were hampering socialist progress were eliminated. The necessary preconditions were created to solve the contradictions that had emerged in the existing mechanism which was too centralized, rigid, and complicated. The entire activity of planned management of the national economy was placed on a scientific basis. [passage omitted]

A turning point in the formation of a progressive concept about planning was the March 1978 RCP Central Committee Plenum that set the foundation for a new economic-financial mechanism incorporating democratic centralism, workers self-management, and self-administration. On this basis, improvements were made in 1979 in accordance with the law on Romania's planned socioeconomic development. The latest amendments of this law were made in 1986 to better meet the requirements of the new economic-financial mechanism and to create the necessary framework for its operation and assertion. [passage omitted]

The planning system established in the past 20 years creates optimal conditions for implementing the principles of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration, is in keeping with the requirements of the intensive development of the national economy, permits an efficient management of resources and materials means, and ensures the material and cultural well-being of all our nation. [passage omitted]

New Oil Drilling Platform Built off Constanta

AU1708110888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0948 GMT 17 Aug 88

["Saturn: A New Romanian Offshore Drilling Platform"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/8/1988—A new Romanian offshore drilling platform—Saturn—is moored in the berth No. 34 of the Constanta sea port. It is a gigantic construction weighing 10,000 tonnes and equalling in height a block of flats of 35-40 stories. The rig, which was built at the Galati shipyard with the participation of numerous machine building works in Bucharest, Ploesti, Timisoara, Resita, Craiova, Tirgoviste etc., is to join the other six similar platforms which have been located on the Romanian continental shelf of the Black Sea (some 70-80 km off the coast) along the years: Gloria (1976), Orizont (1982), Prometeu (1984), Fortuna and Atlas (1985) and Jupiter (1987).

The putting into service of the new rig will be a further step on the line of implementing the national programme for the exploration and tapping of hydrocarbon deposits on the Romanian Black Sea continental shelf.

While Saturn is ready to put to sea, work is at its height on the other platforms. On the Gloria platform which, more than a year ago (May 7, 1987), extracted the first amounts of crude and gas, the exploitation of the operating wells continues. This platform earned Romania a place among the world's countries pumping offshore oil with homegrown means. The Fortuna and Jupiter platforms are drilling new production wells, production tests are being run on a completed well on Orizont, while the people on Atlas and Prometeu are finishing the exploration of new hydrocarbon seams.

The activity of prospecting and capitalizing the crude and gas deposits on the Romanian continental shelf of the Black Sea is coordinated by the specially founded Petromar enterprise for offshore well drilling and exploitation, based in Constanta. The unit has high-standard equipment, on a par with that existing in countries that boast long-standing traditions in this field. Thus, apart from the above-mentioned offshore drilling rigs, Petromar enterprise also includes equipment of great technical complexity for drilling wells (deflected ones included), repair and maintenance workshops, several ships for the transportation of the plant, equipment and materials necessary for the drilling and operation of wells, special ships for the conveyance of workers as well as for the transportation and storing of crude, helicopters etc.

By gradually becoming operational and producing more crude and gas, the seven offshore drilling platforms will consolidate Constanta County's position on Romania's economic map as a supplier of hydrocarbons.

Leaders' Public Appearances 7-13 Aug

AU1308192688 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 7-13 August period (source, time, and date in parentheses):

On 12 August, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid a working visit to the Brasov Truck Enterprise. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 12 Aug)

On 13 August, Ion Folea, member of the RCP Central Committee, met Ecuador President Rodrigo Borja Cevallos in Quito. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1605 GMT 13 Aug)

Workers Begin Strike at Rijeka Factory
LD1608140188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1224 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Rijeka, 16 Aug (TANJUG)—Several hundred workers at the Rijeka tractor and equipment factory Torpedo stopped work today, expressing dissatisfaction with their personal incomes, with the way in which the operational problems of the collective were being solved and the speed at which this was being done, and with the general situation in the country. Workers at the tractor factory and the engine factory, where the stoppage began, have an average personal income of 378,000 to 386,000 dinars and are seeking a 100 percent increase, which they justify by saying that they can no longer bear the burden of stabilization, which they consider to have been placed completely on their shoulders.

The stoppage comes at a time when Torpedo has losses of 5.3 billion dinars and 50 billion dinars of debts to banks. New plans for saving the collective, which has had poor results for years, have only just been drawn up and have not yet begun to produce results. The implementation of a new program involves writing off a part of the debts and financial consolidation, as well as a complete reorganization of production and management, quality control in sales, cadre changes, and also a reduction in the number of employees.

Urosevac Political Aktiv on Security Situation
LD1608170988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Urosevac, 16 Aug (TANJUG)—Kolj Siroka, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium stated at today's meeting of the Urosevac Political Aktiv that nationalism has never brought happiness to anyone. He noted that Albanian nationalists and separatists are not changing the method of their activity, but have recently been raising some issues in stronger words, as they did in 1981. Everyone, above all Albanians, should resolutely fight against this evil. He also warned that as in 1981 a lack of trust in and hatred toward other nations is being presently disseminated in Kosovo. There are even calls to arms and bloodshed, which Albanian nationalists and separatists demanded some 7 years ago. It is obvious, added Kolj Siroka, that someone is prepared to push us into a fratricidal civil war.

Kolj Siroka noted that before, during, and after the 16th LCY Central Committee session, the enemy sounded their horns, even (?in the ranks) of the LC. He called for consistently implementing the tasks of the 16th LCY Central Committee session and other party conclusions on Kosovo. He said that energy is being needlessly wasted on the politicization of some, in his view, insignificant differences with regard to the Kosovo situation outlined at the last plenum of the LCY Central Committee.

He recalled that some former leaders of the Urosevac are in favor of "maintaining the cadres," thus consciously offering resistance to ideopolitical differentiation. In his words, however, a number of individuals in this municipality stepped forward, who had kept quiet for a long time, and who are now hoping for a return to the earlier times which the LCY has already condemned.

At today's meeting of the political aktiv, the political and security situation was described as complex. Albanian nationalists and separatists are still making their presence felt by writing slogans and leaflets. A case was recently recorded of the desecration of monuments in the Orthodox cemetery in Urosevac. Attention was also drawn to the problem of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. According to statistics some 500 members of these nationalities have emigrated since 1986.

Muhammad Maljoku, president of the Urosevac LC Municipal Committee, said that Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism also has an impact on emigration. He told those present that a few days ago Gradimir Biberčic pulled down his two-story building and sought refuge in Smederevo because the municipal authorities refused to give consent for his emigration.

Kosovo Serbs, Montenegrins Protest in Klina
AU1608195388 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 11 Aug 88 p 6

[Myftar Dragidella report: "There Is No Future at Someone Else's Expense"]

[Text] Klina, 10 Aug—The gathering of citizens in the Hall of Culture in Klina concluded its proceedings at about 0300 this morning. The overwhelming majority of participants in this meeting were of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, but there were also a small number from other peoples and nationalities. Communal officials also took part, as well as Dr Dobrosav Bjeletic, executive secretary to the Serbian LC Central Committee; Hashim Rexhepi, member of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee; and Dragoljub Stevanovic, member of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Committee. The sole topic of discussion was the enactment of the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum on Kosovo.

Informing those present on the activity of the Klina LC in enacting these conclusions, Ramadan Millaku, president of the LC Communal Committee, said that the increased activity of basic LC organizations, sociopolitical bodies, and state and self-managing authorities has in the last 2 years, and especially in the first half of this year, succeeded in reducing the flow of Serbian and Montenegrin emigration. Applications for the return of individuals and families are also increasing. A decision to allocate 10 plots of land to those returning is now expected. He reported to those present that the state and judicial authorities have increased their effectiveness in the commune.

Autonomy, Yes—Statehood, No [Subhead]

The first speaker, who delivered a kind of introductory speech, was Milivoje Ribac, who said that that the Serbian and Montenegrin people still do not feel safe here. For this reason, everybody is hurrying to sell his property and emigrate. Because of such a situation, Serbian and Montenegrin pupils are enrolling en masse in schools outside Kosovo, and young women are trying to marry young men who might emigrate. No Serbs are building houses here. The Albanians are not contributing toward the stabilization of the situation and they behave passively, especially regarding differentiation, where there is now backsliding. The speaker vilified certain cadres in the commune, the province, and the Federation, blaming them for the present situation in Kosovo. Rados Bajraktarevic said that the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins are not illegal, and are not confined to a single nationality, because both Serbs and Montenegrins take part. This speaker said that cadre policy has been improperly pursued and that differentiation has not been carried out. He said that we are in favor of brotherhood and unity, but that we are also in favor of changes in the Constitutions of the SFRY and the SR of Serbia. Had it not been for the events of 1981, the Serbs in Serbia would never have known that they had no state. Nobody, he said, is against the autonomy of the provinces, but we are against their statehood. I was at Novi Sad and I saw that the people of Vojvodina think as we do, but that the Vojvodina leadership is out of touch with the people.

Mirko Vostic complained about the employment of his son, and Blagoje Vulic complained about the fire at his house in Klina. Bogosav Bacic said that not a single reply has been received to the 65 complaints which had been sent to various authorities, from the commune to the Federation. Dragoljub Mikic said that in such a situation as the present one, in which we have no freedom, the only way to rescue Yugoslavia is to have the Army defend it. Until recently, he said, we got along well with the Albanians, but the leadership is to blame for the collapse of good relations. Radovan Stepic complained about employment, and Vladimir Vostic said that he has been working in Belgrade for 20 years and that his sons are not free to return to their birthplace because of the difficult situation in Kosovo. This speaker said that the careerism of such Serbian cadres as Vojislav Zajic is to blame for everything the people are now suffering. Bozidar Vulevic, a retired militiaman, spoke about shortcomings and slackness in the Klina Secretariat for Internal Affairs. He said that he had been mistreated after attempting to struggle against Albanian nationalism in 1981. The communal leaders of the time, Vojislav Zajic and Sali Ibishi, were to blame for this. Milija Malevic said that irredentism has penetrated every pore of our life and work. There have been many compulsory purchase orders here, and 85 percent of them have been at the expense of the Serbs and Montenegrins. He asked whether the monument built in the town center is dedicated to the revolution or the counterrevolution. The Serbian and Montenegrin people, he said, will come together, and not only in Novi Sad and Pancevo. Radojica Radunovic spoke about the weaknesses of the communal leadership in the past, and especially about the expropriation of the land of Serbs by the Malishgan quarry, on which the Albanians have now built houses. Vladimir Banjac disputed certain remarks relating to assessments of the political and security situation made last year. He demanded that Curr Rraci, Rame Morina, Uke Jaha, and Reshit Gashi be called to account. This speaker said that nothing has been done to change cadres, because, even if Kriste Bekaj has been relieved of the post of president, he still sits on the Presidium. He then asked why the Boro Milatovic enterprise had changed its name to D[illegible]agjin in 1961. The first and only speaker from the Albanians present was Mehmet Dushi; whistling forced him to abandon his speech. He disagreed with certain views that had been expressed here.

We Must Defend the Authority of Forums [subhead]

Joining the discussion, Hashim Rexhepi said that the course of the meeting had been set by Milivoje Ribac's opening speech. Speaking about the work being carried out by progressive forces in this commune and in Kosovo, he said that he could not agree with the assessments made of certain leaders. In some fields, he said, results have been achieved, including in the commune of Klina, and problems must be solved locally, where they arise. We must make efforts to deepen cooperation among ourselves. There is no future if the Albanians seek to gain at the Serbs' expense, and vice versa. Our future activity, Hashim Rexhepi continued, must give priority to guaranteeing the safety of the persons and property of the Serbs and Montenegrins here in Kosovo. We must accept that the effectiveness of some authorities has increased recently. Concerning single-nationality gatherings, he said that they do not contribute to solving the problems. We are still faced with the task, he said, of combating Albanian nationalism and irredentism, but also with that of combating other forms of nationalism.

Meanwhile, Dr Dobrosav Bjeletic said that Albanian nationalism is still active here in Kosovo and that problems cannot be solved while anguish still holds sway. Our passivity has brought us to our present difficult position, and the leaders who brought us to it cannot rescue us from it. Here in Klina, he said, there have been delays in differentiation. There have been results in Kosovo, but they remain under the shadow of increasing evils. It is unfair, he said, to blame the present leadership for problems in the past. We are trying to defend the authority of forums, but not that of individuals. Talking about the constitutional changes, Dobrosav Bjeletic said that they cannot fail to be enacted, because the statements of citizens resemble a referendum. I too have lost patience over the stabilization of the Kosovo situation, and so I cannot tell you to be patient. As for the theory that the people are being manipulated, he said that you are not children, and that we are with you, and have the

same duties. He concluded by saying that more complete differentiation must be carried out, because it was completed long ago in the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Thirteen more individuals spoke in the early hours of the morning, and covered virtually the same issues, demanding that communal and provincial leaders be called to account.

Albanian Petition Criticized

AU1608202388 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 14 Aug 88 p 2

[R. Tahiri report: "The Albanians' Petition Held To Be Unacceptable"]

[Text] The meeting of the Kosovo Polje LC Action Conference the evening before last, which was attended by Petar Kostic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo; Toma Sekulic, member of the Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo; Enver Selimi, president of the Presidium of the Pristina SAWP Communal Committee; and Moma Trajkovic, executive secretary of the Pristina LC Communal Committee, analyzed the petition of a group of citizens of Albanian nationality sent to SAWP and LC bodies in Kosovo Polje, Pristina, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the SR of Serbia, and the SFRY, and also considered the political and security situation in the Kosovo Polje area. A discussion lasting several hours developed over the first item on the agenda, while discussion of the second item was confined to a short statement listing a few cases of excesses, whereupon the meeting ended.

Mitar Balevic, president of the Kosovo Polje LC Action Conference, said in his speech that the petition has been included on the agenda because it has been signed by some local inhabitants, because it concerns local issues, and because it has been sent to this body, which therefore has the duty of examining it and stating its opinion of it. The petition, he said, was received 2 weeks ago, but there have been delays in having it translated, and it has therefore only now been placed on the agenda.

Different Standpoints and Polarization [subhead]

The entire petition was read out in two languages, Serbo-Croatian and Albanian, while the discussion, as has become the custom at all meetings and gatherings in Kosovo Polje, was conducted only in Serbo-Croatian. The discussion, which lasted several hours, showed complete polarization in assessments of the petition between the Albanians on one side and the Serbs and Montenegrins on the other.

No participants from the ranks of the Albanian nationality rejected the petition as a whole or held it to be unacceptable. They expressed reservations over certain phrases and certain issues, and there were also speakers who opposed petitions in principle as a means of expression and communication, not in accordance with the legal channels of discussion among the organizations and institutions of our socialist, self-managing society. These speakers asked for the petition not to be discussed at all, and requested that it be rejected as an unacceptable form of communication in our society, just as they had requested in the cases of the petitions of Serbs and Montenegrins. Some other Albanian speakers supported the larger part of the petition and its contents. They considered the things said in the petition to be true, appreciated them as written out of goodwill and as a step toward solving matters in Kosovo Polje, not on the basis of national division, but helping Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others to contribute toward solving all problems together and helping to stabilize the situation completely.

Meanwhile, Serbian and Montenegrin speakers rejected the petition, considering it to be tendentious, malevolent, and a cunning form of hostile activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism. They claimed that the petition was on the lines of, and in collusion with, the commentary of ZERI I POPULLIT a few days ago, which had also been broadcast by Radio Tirana. They said that the aim of the petition was to sow confusion and to hinder the work of progressive forces headed by the LCY in stabilizing the situation in Kosovo. It was then stressed that the petition had been sent to the wrong address, because it was addressed to the entire Serbian and Montenegrin people, thus equating Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists with the Serbian and Montenegrin people. One cannot ascribe to an entire people, they said, the words and statements of some Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists at various gatherings in Kosovo Polje, from which the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins had dissociated themselves. (These nationalists were not mentioned by name. Nor was it stated what they had said and at which meetings, and nor who had dissociated themselves from such statements and when). It was said that the names of the organizers and instigators of this petition must be made public, and that the Albanians themselves at this meeting should say who they are. These speakers then claimed that signatures had been forged, that some people had signed twice, that when one looks at the signatures, one realizes that they are mainly of members of families who have come here from southern Serbia, and that if the children who have signed are discounted, there are then only 60 of the 130 signatories left. There was much argument over the petition's contents (which we shall not supply here, because the contents were published in the newspapers a few days ago), and it was said that it is not true that the Albanians were not invited to the various meetings and gatherings in Kosovo Polje, for they were always invited. How many came and spoke is another matter. The petition's question of why Serbian and Montenegrin inhabitants had not turned to their Albanian neighbors with their worries and problems and demanded protection was considered insulting and demeaning because, as was said, the days of agas and

beys [landowners in the Ottoman Empire] are past, and our socialist, self-managing society has legal institutions and authorities whose duty is to provide and ensure protection and security to all citizens. They asked why the petition did not mention Albanian nationalism and separatism, and why the petition had not begun by condemning and denouncing this form of nationalism.

It was then said that the signatories to this petition should show visible, tangible commitment to the struggle against Albanian nationalism and toward preventing the realization of the slogans of "Kosovo—Republic" and "An ethnically pure Kosovo." It was also stated that it is not true, as the petition asserts, that the Albanians are denied the use of their language and flag, the exercise of all their national rights, and so forth.

Recent Excesses Further Complicate the Situation [subhead]

At the close of the debate, Mitar Balevic, chairing the meeting, said that it would be fatal if we were to emerge from the meeting polarized on the basis of nationality over out attitude to the petition. The Presidium's first care was what would happen if such polarizations on a national basis were reproduced in bodies in the commune, the province, and beyond. Balevic proposed that the petition and its entire contents be repudiated as unacceptable, tendentious, and malevolent, apart from the section calling on all inhabitants, regardless of national or religious allegiance, to commit themselves together to solving every issue and stabilizing the situation. This proposal was approved unanimously by those taking part in the meeting, and it was decided, on the suggestion of Momcilo Trajkovic, that work on the petition should not stop with this repudiation, but that thorough ideopolitical differentiation should be carried out against all the petition's signatories.

Dusan Bojkovic, Pavle Jovanovic, Petar Kostic, Nebojsa Zaric, Ljubo Vujovic, Zoran Cirkovic, Jonuz Zogjani, Gani Gjigolli, Shaip Ternava, Rade Vulic, Veljko Odalovic, Bahri Mehana, Shahin Idrizi, Zivorad Mitrovic, Novica Jakovljevic, Miloje Jelic, Nebi Berisha, Slobodan Jankovic, Radenko Krul, Enver Selimi, Tomislav Sekulic, and Mitar Balevic took part in the discussion of the petition.

In considering the political and security situation in Kosovo Polje, the chairman of the meeting said that hostile activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism is now increasing after the 16th LCY Central Committee Plenum, just as it had done after the ninth plenum, and that the general situation has become extremely serious. He mentioned certain excesses that have taken place in recent days: the attempted rape of a Serbian woman from Kosovo Polje, fights in Sofalija and in a Pristina boutique, the situation in the village of Prekale, near Istok, and the distribution of leaflets in Pristina and some other towns in Kosovo, in which, as Mitar Balevic put it, the honest Albanian people were summoned to revolt.

There was no discussion whatsoever of this item on the agenda.

Albanian Separatists Affect Leposavic Politics

LD1608195988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Leposavic, 16 Aug (TANJUG)—Although the population of Leposavic is composed of 91 percent Albanians, and 4 percent Muslims, the activity of Albanian separatists in other Kosovo localities also affects the political mood in this municipality, while disunity in judging the situation and action confuses and irritates the people. This was stated in the introductory speech by Dobroslav Radovic, president of the Leposavic LC District Committee, at today's meeting of the LC Municipal Committee. The agenda included the adoption of immediate tasks by the LC organizations and organs toward implementing the stands of the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee and the 12th session of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

The self-organization of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, Radovic said, is a consequence of the lack of organization by the subjective forces which are not in a position to stamp out Albanian separatism. The working people are especially irritated by the incitement of disunity in society, in particular in the LCY. Speaking about the forthcoming constitutional changes, Radovic stressed that we could not remain here without a united Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The meeting also heard that since 1981 over 6,000 Serbs have left Leposavic. Seven village schools have been closed in the past 10 years and many villages have no inhabitants primarily because some of them were not connected to the electricity supply until 1984. This year 20 Serbs have returned, but lack of jobs prevents their coming back. [passage omitted]

Serb-Montenegrin Group Departs for Titograd

LD1608202388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Istok, 16 Aug (TANJUG)—The organization committee for sending a delegation of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to protest meetings outside the province today held its first public meeting in Istok. The committee decided to send its representatives to the meeting which will be held, as announced, in Titograd on 20 August. The committee leaders stressed that they have already contacted the representatives of the Titograd SAWP town conference and obtained their full understanding and support.

Details of the Istok delegation's participation in this people's meeting in Titograd will be determined in 3 days once the departure of the Serbian-Montenegrin delegation to the Montenegro capital has been agreed. It was stressed at today's meeting that the meeting in Titograd will be organized by the political institutions of this town and not by the organization committee of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.

Vojvodina Hit by Worst Drought Since War

LD1608214888 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] The worst drought since the war has hit Vojvodina. Agricultural experts and scientists are unanimous about this. This means that the consequences will be worse than in 1952 when the damage in this province was catastrophic. Today is the 30th day without rain in Vojvodina. It is generally considered that a state of prolonged drought exists if there is no rain for more than 20 days in July or August.

Human Rights Body on Military Prisoner Care

AU1608173988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Aug 88 p 3

[V. Simonovic report: "Army Doctors Are Completely Independent"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 Aug—Since the actual arrest of Borstner, Jansa, and Tasic, doubts have been expressed by a part of the public about the correctness of the actions of the military prison authorities, including the army health service, toward those under arrest. To remind ourselves: It was requested, for example, that Jansa be visited by civilian doctors (which was allowed). There were polemics over Jansa's hunger strike. The suspicions and explanations have recently continued in correspondence between the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Dr Simo Opacic, the chief medical officer of the Ljubljana military district.

A List of Questions [subhead]

In its letter to Dr Simo Opacic, the committee states that it had recently received several pieces of information which rekindle concern over medical treatment in military prisons. Perhaps this information is also biased. We would like you to give us some information and your comments.

With regard to the information that the military prison director told Janez Jansa and his wife that Jansa would be force-fed if he continued his hunger, we are asking the following questions:

Is it true that there is a book of rules which allows for the force-feeding of prisoners if they refuse food?

Who, according to this rule book, should carry out the force-feeding?

Have there been any hunger strikes by inmates of the Ljubljana military prison in the last few years?

Were doctors informed of all such cases and was force-feeding attempted?

The committee also asked Dr Opacic the following questions:

As a doctor loyal to the ethical principles of your profession and who fully respects the Tokyo and other conventions, are you yourself prepared to recognize principles connected with possible verbal or written orders which are appropriate to them?

Have you fought, or will you fight against the orders of the abovementioned rule book (if indeed it exists?)

What would be your instructions or advice to a fellow doctor who asked you, as the most responsible health official, about your opinion on force-feeding in a specific case?

Have you supported or would you support violating the rule book if this does actually envisage force-feeding?

We are interested in your conduct during a hunger strike, especially if there is no decree at all on force-feeding.

The committee's letter stresses that the public was informed that, judging by the physical appearance and reactions of some prisoners, these should be in hospital rather than in prison. The committee then also states the piece of information that there were at least two attempted suicides in military prisons in 2 months.

They Can Convince Themselves [subhead]

In his reply to the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, Dr Simo Opacic first answered the question on the organization and work methods of the health service in prison and with regard to the prisoners:

"The Ljubljana garrison clinic is concerned with the medical treatment of the prisoners in the Ljubljana military prison. This is an institution for basic medical care which has 20 doctors and stomatologists. It also has a hospital facilities with 100 beds. The clinic has a medical team on duty all the time.

"Doctors or general practitioners deal with the medical treatment of prisoners in the clinic. The majority of doctors are civilians working for the Yugoslav People's Army, and are mainly women. The psychiatric treatment of the prisoners is handled by psychiatrists outside the hospital. Hygienic-epidemiological protection is dealt with by both the clinic and a special preventative medical institutions of the Ljubljana military district which is also the military sanitary inspection unit. If constant

health surveillance of the health of a prisoner is necessary, then the patient is hospitalized and put into permanent clinics or separate wards outside the hospital depending on the illness and the condition of the patient.

"Any member of the committee can check the treatment conditions in the clinic and hospital. We invite them to visit the health institutions. If the doctors consider that even more specialized medical aid is needed, then this is provided in the university clinical center of the Military Hospital in Zagreb or in the Military-Medical Academy.

"I feel the need," stated Dr Opacic, "to emphasize the fact that the military health service is totally independent in its expert medical work. Nonmedical structures, regardless of level, rank, or position, never interfere in or influence this work and, even less, demand that doctors change their decisions, measures, or anything else. The profession and the expert medical organs are the ones that worry about contemporary medical doctrine and conduct.

The Theoretical Assumption [subhead]

Dr Opacic also answered specific questions:

"There is no special rule book which would regulate force-feeding. Likewise, there is nothing in other documents and decrees on force-feeding which would be contradictory to doctors' ethics and the valid declarations.

"There have been no cases of hunger strike in the prison, which is evident from the existing documentation. I have never been in such a situation. I can also state that no one has given me this sort of order, and especially no one who knows me and works with me. This is only a theoretical assumption for me. In practice, it is out of the question that something like this would be demanded of me and even less that I would accept the demand."

Dr Opacic also explained the circumstances surrounding the announcement of Jansa's hunger strike:

"The doctor personally informed me immediately of this possibility. Specialist questions obviously arose about the changed conditions of health care. It was agreed that, if there were a hunger strike, the doctor would visit and examine the prisoner every day and he would also measure the patient's body weight. We advised daily on the condition of his health and, on this basis, we suggested further medical treatment. Not once did the possibility of artificially force-feeding the patient occur to me. I can honestly state that in the service that I lead, and for which I am responsible, there is not one doctor who would accept the task of force-feeding someone, since this is in contradiction to medical ethics and the valid declarations. I can also state that the responsible organs would not set us the tasks which are in contradiction to ethics and the declarations on medical conduct."

Dr Opacic also rejected the information on the two suicide attempts in the military prison:

"There has not been one single attempted suicide in the prison. There have been occasional suicide attempts in the units, but the frequency and motives for these vary from unit to unit."

Reasoned Dialogue [subhead]

In its last announcement, No 44, the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights answered Dr Simo Opacic's letter. This reply said, among other things:

"We are pleased that the health organs of the Yugoslav People's Army have scrapped the tradition which has lasted several months of not recognizing and not communicating with this committee. This tradition was justified with the excuse that this committee is not an official and legitimate organ. We hope that this shows respect for reasoned dialogue which is the only thing which can bring reasonable solutions.

"The committee does not doubt that the principles and rules which govern the work of the health service in the Yugoslav People's Army are really those stated by Dr Opacic in his reply. However, the committee has reliable information at its disposal which shows without a doubt that the treatment of the inmates in the military prison is not always in line with these principles. Furthermore, in the rule book which determines the handling of the inmates in the military prison there are provisions which are in direct contradiction to the Tokyo declaration. We publicly ask Dr Opacic to forward the abovementioned complete rule book to the committee and thus enable the public to be told all the relevant facts.

"Between 1 June and 27 July 1988, there were at least three hunger strikes in the Ljubljana military prison. This can be confirmed by witnesses. According to the director, Captain Pero Kopanja, this is a regular occurrence in the prison and the same source says that some strikes and force-feeding have even lasted more than 30 days. In June and July 1988, Colonel Opacic did not visit the prisoners at all, so he probably based his answers to specific questions on the views and information of third persons. In spite of this, there is no reason for us not to believe him, except in the cases where the committee has proven, contradictory information. During Janez Jansa's hunger strike, the prison director, the prison doctor and Djuro Vlasiavljevic, the court president, threatened Jansa and his relatives that force-feeding would begin after a day or two. Vlaisavljevic actually told Janez Jansa's relatives that 'they will not put off the force-feeding until he is weak, but will start it immediately because they are humane and only wish him well.'"

Finally, the committee expressed the hope that Dr Simo Opacic would explain, in the continued public dialogue, all the dilemmas that remained in his letter. Because of contradictory information on specific cases, the committee suggested that an independent medical commission,

under the auspices of the Red Cross, establish the actual situation once and for all, as this is the only possible way to eliminate all doubts and possible disagreements.

Military Courts Defended Against Anti-Army Views
AU1608165488 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2561 11 Aug 88

[Unattributed commentary: "New Unscrupulous Insinuations"]

[Text] In the flood of almost daily attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], it appears that nothing could surprise us anymore and that all the limits of politeness, political consideration, cultural dialogue, and civilized behavior have been exceeded. The initiative committee for setting up the council for a human rights and basic freedoms protection council within the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference made sure once again that impudence in the anti-Army campaign and insolence in manipulating media are boundless, and that there is really nothing else that could surprise the public.

The statement issued by this council at the beginning of August of this year stresses that the council is in the possession of information and documents which indicate the possibility that the military security service and some of its sections or members of this service use illegal and punishable threats and extortion to recruit some soldiers as political provocateurs; that assumptions that in some cases political trials were concocted were correct; that those conducting these activities take great care that everything is done in accordance with the criminal law, but that the truth could be different because detailed studies and the examination of charges and the main trial, the withdrawal of statements made at the previous proceeding, and hindering or total restriction of the right to defense all allegedly point to the opposite; that some regular, particularly military, courts are still applying Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code (this article refers to a criminal act of hostile propaganda) with an impermissibly broad interpretation which allegedly facilitates all kinds of abuses to the detriment of the persons' rights. For this reason the Initiative Council has sent to the SFRY Presidency an "initiative for the protection of legality and constitutionality" together with the warning that there is danger of public dissatisfaction breaking out if such activity of the military security service and the military judiciary continues.

Unsubstantiated Accusations [subhead]

The initiative committee does not mention any charges or trials in military courts whose critical analysis would confirm the correctness of the above mentioned assumptions. It does not mention any case in which the right to defense was hindered or prevented in criminal proceedings in military courts. In brief, none of the above-mentioned serious allegations, accusations, doubts, and assumptions are substantiated with specific facts and proofs. In view of this, the statement in question—a statement that asserts, accuses, doubts, and assumes too much, but proves nothing—is unacceptable, both as a method of raising questions that need solving, and as a way to address the public. Therefore the Army resolutely rejects this statement. The statement has simply ignored the facts: that, as regards defense rights, the accused have all rights in military courts as the accused have in other regular (civil) courts; that in the case of soldiers, these rights are much broader; that all those accused and standing trial in military courts can freely choose their lawyer, and that in practice almost one-half of all defense lawyers appearing in military trials are "civilian" lawyers. A well-know fact that the withdrawal of statements made in previous hearings has already become an established tactic of the majority of the accused of so-called political crimes is easily ignored. The fact—which even a novice to the law knows—that a court decision is not pronounced only on the basis of testimony and the statement of the accused, but on the basis of all evidence, is also ignored.

The case of soldier Tomo Bogotaj was used as the alleged evidence for all this. In June of this year, Bogotaj was sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment for hostile propaganda by the Sarajevo Military Court.

Extremely Tendentious Insinuation [subhead]

Using the Bogotaj case as evidence for the assertions made in the statement represents a total failure and an extremely tendentious insinuation. The main hearing in Sarajevo was open to the public and was attended by the members of the Bogotaj family. Bogotaj's lawyer was a civilian lawyer chosen by him. During the main hearing Bogotaj himself, without any pressure, more or less confirmed what he had said in the previous hearing, as did the witnesses, but, in the main hearing he also tried to alleviate some incriminating evidence in order to make the criminal act of which he was accused less serious. This behavior is quite understandable. He explained that his political views were formed in Ljubljana, 1 to 1 and ½ years before he started his military service.

In the light of these facts, it is rather surprising that the aforementioned statement reproaches military courts for applying Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code and for raising some questions in connection with it. First, does the application of a valid legal decree by military courts deserve to be criticized in a legal state? After all, this law is being applied by all other courts in the country, except those in the SR of Slovenia. Second, does one need to be a legal expert in order to realize that what Tomo Bogotaj said constitutes elements of a criminal act as defined by this legal decree?

The authors of the aforementioned statement must be well aware that the responsibility for the control of the legality of proceedings and the decisions of military courts are governed by the law. They must also know that the sentence passed in the Military Court in Sarajevo is only the sentence passed by the court of first instance and that appeals are considered by the Supreme Military Court. They must also know that under certain legally defined conditions the appropriate Federal Court could reexamine the decision of the Supreme Military Court. Therefore, there are high and very qualified legal institutions which

can thoroughly and conscientiously reexamine the work of military legal organs. In this context, one should mention that in the last several years, the Supreme Military Court rescinded several decisions of the military courts of first instance regarding the criminal act of hostile propaganda. In the same period the Federal Court did not rescind even a single decision of military courts that it was examining. One can therefore conclude that the criminal acts of hostile propaganda are not that easily invoked and that sentences for them are not that easily pronounced. This is why it is even more surprising that the statement claims that the military courts apply Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code with impermissibly wide interpretation. Thus, this assertion is not substantiated either. In fact everything indicates the opposite.

More Than a Simple Political Intrigue [subhead]

Leaving aside the fact that the Tomo Bogotaj case is not legally closed, and that at present it is only the Supreme Military Court that was asked to examine the validity of the sentence passed by the Sarajevo Military Court, as well as all objections and complaints abiyt a possible violation of the law, which is something the "fighters for legality and constitutionality" must be well aware of, it is obvious that the latest statement by the initiative committee is not the least concerned about the human rights and freedom, and that it is more concerned, if not exclusively concerned, about the crudest tricks, speculations, and insinuations. The committee is not in the possession of any evidence to support its claims.

Its aim is completely transparent and clear. New "cases" and "affairs" should be started at any price in order to continue the attacks on the YPA with the ultimate aim of compromising it, separating it from the people, and preventing it from carrying out its social role. In this context, on this occasion at the center of attack were the organs that were at the front of the fight against those who seed nationalist hatred and who opposed everything Yugoslav and socialist. It is not difficult to realize that the hitherto most brutal attack on the organs of military security in the form of a statement and initiatives comes from the same place from which a thesis was recently launched that the "counterintelligence service" in the Army remained untouchable even after the Brioni meeting, and that society must rearrange it. It is certainly not unimportant that this claim was made by someone who until recently was a high republican and federal official from the SR of Slovenia.

Inciting Nationalist Euphoria [subhead]

This is also an attempt—by exerting pressure on the organs of military security and military judiciary—to disorient them and impede their activity in performing their honorable and responsible duties and tasks, as well as to extend protection to those people who impudently and aggressively propagandize nationalism and launch fascist slogans calling on settling accounts with members of other peoples and nationalities. However, it is clear that nationalism is the greatest danger for the unity of military collectives and the YPA in general. Those young people who must answer charges of using nationalist propaganda and hostile activity were brought to civil or military courts, not by security organs who only perform their duty, but by those people who educated them. It is clear that such statements as these and similar ones incite nationalist euphoria and can lead individuals, particularly young people, astray. Therefore, one must call on such educators and this kind of committees to stop these actions and to bring up young generations in the spirit of brotherhood and unity, Yugoslav socialist patriotism, and the equality of all peoples and nationalities in the SFRY.

Finally, there are some questions that urgently demand answers: Why is it that the initiative committee can publicly and without any consequences defend perpetrators of a criminal act and people who so aggressively preach nationalism and genocidal forms of settling accounts with members of other peoples and nationalities? Would it not be natural that somebody should nevertheless answer for such brutal attacks against the YPA? If that cannot happen at the epicenter of such attacks, then he should at least answer before the tribunal of the Yugoslav public.

The Army will continue to consistently fight against any kind of nationalism, as well as against those people who groundlessly recognize the entire Slovene people in such behavior of Tomo Bogotaj and his protectors. In conformity with their jurisdiction, military court organs and security organs of the YPA will also continue their consistent struggle in order to protect constitutionality and legality. They will disregard all pressures and will implement all legal norms as long as they are in force. In the view of all this, all violators of these norms and their protectors will be treated equally, regardless of their nationality .

Bank Official Reports Improved Liquidity

LD1608171388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1547 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's current foreign exchange liquidity and state of foreign exchange reserves are the best for the past ten years. At present the country has enough foreign exchange reserves to timely meet all its foreign obligations for a period of two and a half months, Deputy Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia Slobodan Stanojevic said here today.

The increased foreign exchange earnings are the result of a 15.2-per-cent rise in exports over the first six months this year and a 0.6-per-cent fall in imports, compared to the same period last year.

Stanojevic said that in the first half of 1988, exports to convertible currency markets increased by 20 per cent, while imports remained at last year's level.

Yugoslavia's trade surplus in the first half of this year stood at 734 million dollars, compared to the 288-million-dollar deficit recorded in the same period last year, he said.

Stanojevic noted that the state of liquidity in Yugoslavia's economy was on the whole satisfactory, and that certain difficulties in this respect were recorded in the three least developed republics—Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina—and in the province of Kosovo.

The improved state of the country's foreign exchange liquidity is also the result of a considerable increase in remittances sent by Yugoslav workers abroad and increased buying of foreign currencies in exchange offices.

Stanojevic said that in the period from the beginning of 1988 to August 10, 987 million dollars were bought, which is 590 million up on the same period last year. He added that in the first six months of 1988 Yugoslavs working abroad sent home 542 million dollars, or 29 per cent more than in the same period last year.

Concentration Camp Inmates Demand Indemnities
LD1608173588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 16 (TANJUG)—A group of 29 Yugoslavs, former German concentration camp inmates, of Banatsko Karadjordjevo in the Yugoslav Province of Vojvodina today protested outside the Federal Assembly demanding war indemnities.

At a meeting with officials of Yugoslavia's Organization of War Veterans, the group said that inmates from all other countries who were in concentration camps during World War Two received war reparations on the basis of international conventions. Yugoslavs who had been in concentration camps in Germany are the only exception.

For many years, former Yugoslav inmates have unsuccessfully sought to realize their right to war indemnities with the Yugoslav authorities. A part of the money Yugoslavia received as war reparations was channelled to invalid pension funds, officials of the war veterans' organization said. That money, however, could not have been used to pay compensation to former inmates for the time they spent in concentration camps, because they did not have the same material rights as war veterans.

In case this is possible under international regulations, Yugoslavia will demand that former inmates be paid compensation for the time they worked in German concentration camps, officials of the Organization of War Veterans said.

UN Observer Group Continues Trek to Mideast
LD1708092988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0737 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Nicosia, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—The group of 11 Yugoslav officers who are members of the operational part of the UN peace mission, together with Major General Slavko Jovic, of the mission, left Larnaca Airport this morning, after a 1-day stopover in Cyprus, for the Iraqi-Iranian border. At 0300 GMT on 20 August, they will begin their operational work—the supervision of the cease-fire which follows the 8-year war.

The UN observer mission which, including the Yugoslav officers, comprises some 350 officers from another 26 countries, has the task of controlling the cease-fire along the whole border between Iran and Iraq, in cooperation with and with assistance from the host countries.

"We expect to find a common language with our hosts, that we will receive assistance from them and we will cooperate with representatives of Iraq and Iran in carrying out the tasks set by the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and the UN Security Council. The tasks are stated in Resolution 598 and in the secretary general's plan," said one of the members of the Yugoslav group in the operation part of the UN observer mission.

The operational part of the UN observer mission will be helped in this task by a "background group" which, in the framework of the mission, will comprise some 300 civilians.

"It is our task to ensure, establish, and preserve the cease-fire which comes into force on 20 August. This is the beginning of the truce, its first phase. The elements of the truce have already begun with the acceptance of Resolution 598 and the secretary general's plan," said Maj Gen Jovic, command of the UN observer mission.

While the Yugoslav operational group will be stationed on the Iranian side in the cease-fire, mission commander Maj Gen Jovic will, it is presumed, travel between Baghdad and Tehran.

In the framework of the realization of Resolution 598 and the implementation of the secretary general's plan, it is expected that a mixed Iraqi-Iranian working group of experts will be formed and that their work will be presided over by Maj Gen Jovic in his role as commander of the UN observer mission, it has been learned from sources close to the Yugoslav group on the observer mission.

The method of working and the places and ways in which this mixed working group will meet will be established later. It will have the task of ensuring the cease-fire, monitoring it, and solving problems which may arise in the course of the application of Resolution 598 and the secretary general's plan.

The UN observer mission, which will have certain resources made available to it by the hosts at first for the monitoring of the cease-fire along the Iraq-Iran border, will have a single headquarters which, in order to carry out its tasks more easily, will work alternately in Iraq and Iran. Equally distributed, UN observer forces will also have separate headquarters in Iraq and Iran, which will be headed by brigadier generals from India and Ireland. [passage omitted]